NAPOLEON THE THIRD

THE ROMANCE OF AN EMPEROR

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NAPOLEON THE THIRD

NAPOLEON THE THIRD: THE ROMANCE OF AN EMPEROR

BY WALTER GEER

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FOREWORD

NEARLY fifty years have elapsed since the death of Napoleon the Third at Chislehurst in January 1873, and it seems as though the time had now arrived for an unprejudiced story of his career. After the catastrophe of Sedan, there was a violent reaction in France from the Napoleonic idolatry of the Second Empire. Condemnation ran to as great an extreme as worship had gone before. The Napoleonic legend was torn to tatters, and the central figure of its revival was held responsible for all the misfortunes of "l'année terrible." From an over-rated hero, Napoleon the Third was transformed into an equally impossible demon. Time has now checked the reaction, and softened the rage of the iconoclasts. The wrong of the Peace of Frankfort has been undone, and the glorious tricolor of the Empire and the Republic once more floats over the "lost provinces" of Alsace and Lorraine.

While Napoleon the Third possessed but little of the administrative ability, and none of the military genius, of the Great Emperor, he certainly was far from deserving the title of "Napoleon the Little" bestowed upon him by Victor Hugo. Compared with the leaders of public opinion in other countries during his time, with Cavour in Italy, with Disraeli and Gladstone in England, even with Bismarck in Prussia, he cannot be considered inferior. Time has shown the "Iron

Chancellor" of Germany in his true proportions. The German propaganda is better understood now than it was a few years ago. In his memoirs Bismarck has related cynically, and even vauntingly, the story of the falsified Ems dispatch, which precipitated the Franco-Prussian war, the whole blame for which at the time, and for years afterwards, was laid at the door of France.

In the days of disaster which followed, with equal injustice, all the misfortunes of France were attributed to the Imperial régime. The Nation, which had refused to provide for adequate military preparedness, threw the whole blame upon the Emperor. If the French eagles had been borne in triumph to Berlin, as after Jena in 1806, Napoleon the Third would have been acclaimed by all the world as the worthy successor of Napoleon the Great. Because, prematurely old, and already suffering from a mortal malady, he failed, the world united to decry and belittle him.

But, whatever the final verdict of History may be, upon these controverted points, there can be no doubt as to the fact that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was one of the dominating personalities of the great Nineteenth Century, and one of the most interesting characters in history. The story of his life reads like the pages of a great historical novel, and may well be called The Romance of an Emperor.

WALTER GEER

NEW YORK, August, 1920

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

1804–1808

THE KING AND QUEEN OF HOLLAND

PAGE

Louis Bonaparte — Hortense de Beauharnais — The Empress Josephine — Marriage of Louis and Hortense — Birth of Napoleon Charles — The Problem of Succession — Birth of Napoleon Louis — The King and Queen of Holland — Death of Napoleon Charles — The Baths of Cauterêts — The Verhuell Calumny 3

CHAPTER TWO

1808–1815

CHILDHOOD OF PRINCE LOUIS

Birth of Louis Napoleon — Holland Annexed to the Empire — Separation of Louis and Hortense — Flahaut and Morny — The Hundred Days — Departure of Napoleon — Josephine's Estate — Malmaison and Saint-Leu — Hortense in Exile..... 16

CHAPTER THREE

1815–1831

LIFE IN SWITZERLAND

Exile at Constance — The Château of Arenenberg — Character of Hortense — Education of a Prince — At Augsburg and Thun—Death of Eugène — The July Revolu-

CONTENTS

PAGE

tion — The Italian Insurrection — Death of Napoleon Louis — Flight from Ancona to Paris — Louis Philippe — First Visit to England — Return to Arenenberg 28

CHAPTER FOUR

1831–1836

YEARS OF WAITING

Life at Arenenberg — Death of the Duke of Reichstadt — Louis Napoleon Head of His Party — Captain Bonaparte at Thun — Political Activity — Visitors at the Château — Interview with La Fayette 48

CHAPTER FIVE

1836–1837

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

Revival of the Napoleonic Legend — The July Monarchy — Persigny at Arenenberg — Preparations at Baden — Eléonore Brault — Precedent of the Return from Elba — The Meeting at Strasbourg — The Thirtieth October — End of the Great Adventure — Hortense Rushes to Paris — Clemency of the King — Banishment to America — Days in New York — Return to Arenenberg — Death of Hortense 59

CHAPTER SIX

1837–1840

THE AFFAIR OF BOULOGNE

Last Days at Arenenberg — Maxims and Will of Hortense — Departure from Switzerland — Residence in London — Preparations for Boulogne — The Napoleonic Propa-

PAGE

ganda — Departure of the Expedition — Landing in France — The Second Fiasco — Arrest of the Conspirators — Trial by the Chamber of Peers — Sentenced to Perpetual Imprisonment — The Remains of Napoleon Brought Home from Saint Helena..... 78

CHAPTER SEVEN

1840–1846

PRISONER OF STATE

The Château of Ham — Life in Prison — Literary Pastimes — A Prison Romance — The Crazy Duke of Brunswick — The Escape from Ham — Second Residence in London — The Affair with Miss Howard — The Princesse Marie de Bade — Death of King Louis. 95

CHAPTER EIGHT

1846–1848

REVOLUTION OF 1848

Awaiting the Call of Destiny — Government of Louis Philippe — The Mehemet Ali Affair — Ministry of Guizot — The February Revolution — Flight of the King — The Provisional Government — The June Riots — Louis Napoleon at Paris — Elected to the Assembly — A Crucial Moment — The New Constitution — Candidate for the Presidency — Triumphant Election — Inaugurated as President of the Republic.. 113

CONTENTS

CHAPTER NINE

1848–1852

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

PAGE

The Elysée Palace — The Prince Plans a Coup d'Etat — Strength of the Monarchial Party — The June Insurrection — Franchise Law of 1850 — The President and the Assembly — Removal of General Changarnier — The Coup d'Etat — The Second of December — The Two Following Days — Verdict of the Nation — The New Constitution — Old Debts Paid — Last Year of the Republic — The Plébescite — The Empire Proclaimed 126

CHAPTER TEN

1853

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH

First Year of the Empire — Napoleon the Third and the Great Powers — Lord Cowley's Anecdote — Final Recognition of His Title — The Question of the Succession — Matrimonial Ventures of Louis Napoleon — Eugénie de Montijo — The Imperial Marriage — The Bonapartes Return — Splendor of the Court — Character of Napoleon — The Napoleonic Ideas — Political Institutions of the Empire — The Emperor's Policy . . . 146

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1854–1855

THE CRIMEAN WAR

Prosperity of the Empire — Obligations of a Warlike Heritage — The Famous Speech at Bordeaux — Causes of the Russian War — The Sick Man of Europe — The

PAGE

Holy Places — Russia Invades the Danubean Principalities — The Anglo-French Alliance — First Year of the War — Battles in the Crimea — Siege and Fall of Sebastopol — Treaty of Paris — Results of the War —Visit to England — Birth of the Prince Imperial — Royal Visitors to Paris — The Exhibition of 1855 — Visit of Queen Victoria 158

CHAPTER TWELVE

1859

ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE

Count Cavour — Piedmont in the Crimean War — The Congress of Paris — The Comtesse de Castiglione — The Orsini Conspiracy — The Pact of Plombières — The Austrian Ultimatum — The Campaign in Lombardy — Victories of Magenta and Solferino — The Peace of Villafranca — Explanation of Napoleon's Action — Resignation of Cavour — Savoy and Nice Annexed to France 175

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1860

FRANCE AND ITALY

New Year's Day at Rome — Resignation of Walewski — The Speech from the Throne — Monsieur Thouvenel — The Italian Question — Nice and Savoy — The Great Powers — Treaty of Turin — Napoleon and Pius Ninth — General Lamoricière — The Pontifical Army — Journey of the French Sovereigns — The Piedmontese Invasion — Castelfidardo and Ancona — Kingdom of Naples — Diplomatic Protests — The Interview of Warsaw — Victor Emmanuel at Naples — End of the Year 1860 189

CONTENTS

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1855–1867

GLORIOUS DAYS OF THE EMPIRE

PAGE

Two Great Military Reviews — Death of the Grand Duchess Stéphanie — The Baden Interview — The Visit to Corsica — The Reconstruction of Paris — Home Life in the Tuileries — The Exhibition of 1867.. 206

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1860–1870

HOME AFFAIRS

Effect of the Italian War — Damage to the Emperor's Prestige — The English Treaty of Commerce — Opposition of the Protectionists — Religious Agitation — Foundation of the Liberal Empire — Change in the French Navigation Laws — Further Concessions to the Liberals — Growing Strength of the Opposition — Death of Morny — Rise of the Third Party — Wavering Policy of the Emperor — Final Adoption of the Liberal Plan — The Ollivier Ministry — The Nation Approves the Liberal Reforms — Satisfaction of the Emperor..... 222

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

1860–1866

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Syrian Massacres — Napoleon's Letter to Palmerston — Limited Results of the Expedition — The Chinese War — The French and English Forces — Battle of Palikao — Destruction of the Summer Palace — Treaty of Pekin — The Mexican War — Ulterior Plans of

PAGE

Napoleon — The Mexican Empire — Maximilian and Carlotta — Withdrawal of the French Army — Execution of Maximilian — Blow to Napoleon's Prestige — Plans for German Unity — Rise of Bismarck — The Schleswig-Holstein Question — The Biarritz Conference — The Italian Alliance — The Seven Weeks' War — Victory of Sadowa — North German Confederation 234

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

1860–1870

DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

Incapacity of the Government in External Affairs — The Peace of Villafranca — The Mexican War — The Rise of Prussia — Alienation of the Church of Rome — Meddling of the Empress — The Affair of Schleswig-Holstein — The Seven Weeks' War — Army Reorganization — Napoleon's Lassitude — His Poor Health — Reasons for the Constitutional Changes — The Popular Approval — Negative Votes of the Army — The Hohenzollern Candidature — The Famous Ems Dispatch — Bismarck's Duplicity — France Declares War 250

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

1870

THE GERMAN WAR

Effect of the Ems Dispatch — Declaration of War — Enthusiasm of the Parisians — Isolation of France — Disorganization of the Army — Perfect Preparation of Prussia — Advance of the Three German Armies — MacMahon Defeated at Wörth — Despair of the Emperor — Bazaine in Command — Attempt to

PAGE

Retreat on Verdun Checked at Borny — Night Visit to Napoleon — The Emperor Goes to Gravelotte — Final Interview with Bazaine — Battles of Vionville and Gravelotte — Siege of Metz Begun — Napoleon at Châlons — A Council of War — Veto of the Empress — MacMahon Decides to March on Metz — Further Indecision — The March Resumed — Position of the Germans — They Follow the French Army — Further Defeats of the French — Retreat to Sedan — The French Position — MacMahon Wounded — Wimpffen in Command — Misery of the Emperor — Desperate Position of the Army — The White Flag Hoisted — Napoleon's Letter — 270

CHAPTER NINETEEN

1871–1873

LAST DAYS OF THE EMPEROR

The Surrender at Sedan — The Emperor's Last Meeting with Bismarck — His Interview with King William — Prisoner in Germany — The Château of Wilhelmshöhe — Visit of the Empress — End of the War — Final Exile in England — Life at Camden Place — Failing Health of the Emperor — Operation of the Second January — Death on the Ninth — Funeral at Chislehurst 287

CHAPTER TWENTY

1856–1879

THE PRINCE IMPERIAL

His First Public Appearance — The Baptism of Fire — His Wanderings During the War — Chislehurst and Woolwich — Service in South Africa — Killed by the Zulus

PAGE

— Prince Victor Head of the Family — His Marriage with Clémentine — Birth of Louis Napoleon — The American Bonapartes — The Empress at Farnborough Hill — Her Visits to Paris and Cap Martin — Her Death — The Fate of the Tuileries 298

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

1808–1873

CHARACTER OF NAPOLEON THE THIRD

His Mission — His Heredity — His Youth and Education — His Mother's Influence — His Personal Attraction — His Excellence in Sports — His Powers as a Linguist — His Efforts to Improve France — His Personality — His Entourage — His Dignity — His Affability — His Tenacity — His Lack of Decision — His Love of Startling Effects — His Impassibility — His Personal Appearance — His Place in History 313

THE BONAPARTES

GENEALOGICAL TABLE 327

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES 328

CHRONOLOGY 332

BIBLIOGRAPHY 334

INDEX 337

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Napoleon the Third	*Frontispiece*
Napoleon	20
Josephine	24
Louis, King of Holland	32
Queen Hortense	48
Le Château of Ham	96
President Louis Napoleon	112
Napoleon the Third	128
Eugénie	144
La Princesse Mathilde	160
La Comtesse de Castiglione	176
Le Comte Walewski	192
Le Duc de Morny	208
The Tuileries	288
Le Prince Imperial	304

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CHAPTER ONE

1804–1808

THE KING AND QUEEN OF HOLLAND

Louis Bonaparte — Hortense de Beauharnais — The Empress Josephine — Marriage of Louis and Hortense — Birth of Napoleon Charles — The Problem of Succession — Birth of Napoleon Louis — The King and Queen of Holland — Death of Napoleon Charles — The Baths of Cauterêts — The Verhuell Calumny

IN all history there are few personalities more interesting than that of Napoleon the Third. The story of his life reads like a romance. His adventures unroll before the eyes with all the attraction of a moving picture, with all the enthralling interest of a melodrama. The student of his career finds it difficult to avoid the impression that he is in the presence of a hero of fiction or of the drama, beside whom all other characters of romance seem insignificant.

At the time of his birth, his father Louis Bonaparte was King of Holland. His mother was the fascinating Hortense, daughter of the Empress Josephine by her first marriage with the Vicomte de Beauharnais, who was guillotined during the French Revolution. He was therefore at the same time the nephew and the grandson by marriage of the Great Emperor.

Louis Bonaparte was the favorite brother of Napoleon, who carefully supervised his education and treated him almost like an adopted son. In 1795 he

procured for him admission to the military school at Châlons. At that time he wrote of him as follows:

"Je suis très content de Louis, il répond à mes espérances et à l'attente que j'avais conçue de lui; c'est un bon sujet; mais aussi c'est de ma façon: chaleur, esprit, santé, talent, commerce exact, bonté, il réunit tout."

In this letter we find a tenderness, almost a paternal blindness, which one would hardly look for in Napoleon.

During the first Italian campaign Louis acted as aide de camp of Napoleon. He was his messmate, his private secretary, his man of confidence. During this period he gave proofs of a strong constitution, was always gay, and showed himself to be an amiable companion and a bon vivant. Later he had an attack of rheumatic gout which in a short time seemed to change both his physical temperament and his moral character. For the rest of his life he was sickly, morose, melancholic, constantly occupied with his health, and persuaded that he was doomed.

At the time no one suspected this transformation in his character, Napoleon least of all.

After the return from Egypt, where Louis again acted as aide de camp of his brother, this young man, without merit, without experience, without military taste, without glorious achievement, was rapidly advanced by Napoleon to the grade of general of brigade. After this appointment in January 1800, when he was only twenty-two years of age, Louis resided at Paris, where he occupied himself with nearly everything except his military duties.

After Marengo, the First Consul began seriously to consider the question of his heir. It was then that Josephine conceived the idea of a marriage between her daughter Hortense and Louis.

At that time Hortense was only seventeen years of age, or five years younger than her future husband. She was not at all pretty, but was singularly attractive from the beauty of her form and the grace of her movements. Except for her blond hair she would have been considered rather plain. Her nose was large and her mouth homely, with bad teeth even in her youth. Her eyes, of a blue violet color, at times gave an expression of exquisite tenderness and vivacity to her face. The tout ensemble was one which attracted and fascinated everybody. She had been educated at the famous school of Madame Campan and possessed all the accomplishments of a young lady of good family. She danced well, she embroidered, she sang, she played the harp and the piano, she excelled in all the little tasks of the salon, she was quite literary in her tastes. In character she was sweet, loving, vivacious, and very amiable if not crossed, when she became very obstinate. She was a fine horsewoman, and took a prominent part in the sports and pastimes of the château life. Her finest trait was her life-long adoration of her mother.

Josephine, it must be confessed, was little worthy of the love which both her children always gave her. In spite of her many amiable qualities she was selfishness personified and never really loved anybody but herself. She was fond of her position as the wife of the head of the State, and the many worldly advan-

tages which this brought her, but she never really loved Napoleon the man, and never showed much affection for her children. She was one of those rare characters who seem to possess the natural gift of attracting others without themselves giving anything in return. Her memory has been crowned with a halo which it little deserved.

All the memoirs of her time are in accord in attributing to Josephine great affability and social tact. All are equally unanimous in saying she had very little intellect. The depths of her selfishness were concealed by an appearance of affability and tenderness. As a woman she had no instruction, no belief, no rule of morality, but she possessed in the highest degree the gift of social tact, of savoir faire, of always saying and doing the right thing at the right time, of winning all hearts. Intelligent or not, she was successful for fourteen years in keeping the love of a husband six years her junior against all the attacks and all the conspiracies of the whole Bonaparte family. Hortense, with much more intelligence, possessed all the attractive qualities of her mother, with few, if any, of her faults. Josephine, in considering the different *partis* who presented themselves for Hortense, never regarded them from the point of view of the happiness of her daughter but only from that of her own personal interest.

Finally matters were brought to a head by the attempt on the life of the First Consul the night of 24 December 1800, when he was on his way to the opera. His life was spared almost by a miracle, and Josephine and Hortense, who followed in another

carriage, owed their safety to a short delay in starting occasioned by an accident of toilette. Every one was impressed as never before with the necessity for the safety of the State of having an heir for Napoleon. Josephine was now firmly resolved upon the marriage between her daughter and Louis, but it was nearly a year before she succeeded in carrying out her plans.

In September 1801 Louis came to Malmaison to make a visit to his brother and sister-in-law and it was the evening of a ball there that after a decisive interview with Hortense the marriage was finally arranged. According to Masson, who is the latest and best authority on the subject of "Napoléon et sa Famille," there was little if any foundation for the re-iterated affirmations of Louis in later years that the marriage was forced upon him. Three months elapsed between the ball at Malmaison and the ceremony. During this period Louis showed himself very much in love, while Hortense, if not very enthusiastic, was at least resigned to her lot. The 3 January, 1802, the marriage contract was signed in the presence of nearly the entire Bonaparte family, and the following day the civil marriage itself took place, followed the same evening by a religious ceremony, at the Bonaparte hôtel in the Rue de la Victoire.

This function terminated, General Murat approached the cardinal-legate, Caprara, and said that his marriage with Caroline Bonaparte had only been a civil ceremony, and requested him to unite them by the rites of the Church. Caprara immediately performed the ceremony, with the same witnesses who had attested the marriage of Hortense and Louis.

Thus was realized the ardent wish of Josephine, who now felt that her position was not only assured for the present, but was certain to be stronger in the future. Her only daughter was the wife of the favorite brother of Napoleon, and the only one whom he was likely to accept as his heir.

Louis was married only a few days, and hardly settled in the little hôtel loaned them by Napoleon in the Rue de la Victoire, before trouble began between the young couple. The cause of the quarrel was over Josephine, whom Louis both disliked and distrusted, and whom he wished so far as possible to keep separated from her daughter. He soon left his young wife, and except for a short appearance in April was absent all summer. Abandoned by her husband the second month of her marriage, Hortense passed most of her time with Napoleon and Josephine either at the Tuileries or at Malmaison where she spent the summer and fall. During the three weeks that her mother went to Plombières to take the waters, Hortense did the honors of the Château. The prolonged absence of her husband after so short a period of marriage and the intimacy into which she was necessarily thrown with her young stepfather, who was only fourteen years older than herself, soon gave occasion for scandal. The hatred of Josephine by Napoleon's brothers, and the jealousy of his sisters towards Hortense, served to fan the flame. When these reports reached the ears of Napoleon, he thought it better for Hortense not to continue to live at the Tuileries, and as the little hôtel which he had loaned them in Rue de la Victoire was too small, the last of July 1802

he bought for about 180,000 francs, in the name of Louis and Hortense, and presented to them, a little palace at number 16 in the same street. Here on 10 October 1802 was born a son who was called Napoleon Charles. Louis, in response to a formal order from his brother, had returned to Paris just in time to be present on the interesting occasion.

Napoleon Charles was the first male child born in the Bonaparte family in Napoleon's generation. Joseph had only one daughter; Lucien, two. In a way, the feeling of Napoleon towards him was that of a grandfather. He was the child of Louis, who was almost like a son to him, and of Hortense, who was his daughter by marriage, and by adoption in his heart. The months before his birth Hortense had passed with Napoleon and Josephine during the absence of her husband. The child strongly resembled his uncle in the shape of his head and the form of his features, but was blond like his mother.

The scandal-mongers, of whom the latest and meanest and most mendacious of all was the so-called "Baron d'Ambès," who claimed to be the "life-long and intimate friend of Napoleon the Third," have endeavored to establish the fact that King Louis was not the father of any of his reputed children! Ambès, in his "Intimate Memoirs," of which an English translation was published here in 1912, writes, "Napoleon, too, insisted on the marriage, and so peremptorily, he must have had a pressing motive. We can guess what it was! . . . *The case was urgent* — these four words sufficiently reveal the predicament."

Now for the facts in the case, which Monsieur

"d'Ambès" carefully ignores. In the first place, the marriage did not take place until over three months after it was first arranged, as we have already seen. So much for the urgency! In the second place, the First Consul left Paris for Lyon the night of the eighth of January, only four days after the marriage, and did not return until the first of February. During these four days Hortense was with her husband in their Paris house and did not once visit Saint-Cloud. Napoleon Charles was born the tenth of October. The reader can make his own calculations and deductions. To be sure, the eldest son of Hortense strangely resembled Napoleon. But the striking family resemblance of the Bonapartes has often been remarked. Jerome Bonaparte of Baltimore, the son of Napoleon's youngest brother Jérôme by his first marriage with Elizabeth Patterson, and Prince Napoleon, his son by his second wife the Princess Catherine of Würtemberg, in personal appearance both bore an extraordinary resemblance to the First Napoleon. On the other hand, Prince Victor, the elder son of Prince Napoleon, and the present head of the Bonaparte family, strongly resembles his Italian mother, the Princess Clotilde, daughter of King Victor Emmanuel, as Napoleon the Third strongly resembled his mother Queen Hortense.

Returning to Paris just in time for the birth of his son, Louis decided to live for the present in his new mansion, and a kind of reconciliation, to be only too brief, was arranged between the young couple. Before many months had passed, Louis again left Paris, where Hortense remained with her child, and did not

return until the month of September 1803. Then for a short time he and his wife were again united, at Compiègne, where his brigade was stationed.

In the spring of 1804, the question of the succession again came up, and was discussed in many family councils, and with the chief dignitaries of the State. Napoleon had decided to assume the title of Emperor of the French, and it was necessary to arrange the matter of the heredity of the Imperial crown. After eight years of marriage, Napoleon had given up all hope of a direct heir. His eldest brother, Joseph, had no sons. Both Lucien and Jérôme had married contrary to his wishes, and could not be considered. Louis was thought to be unfitted mentally and physically for the honor. The law, as finally adopted in May 1804, gave Napoleon the power to adopt any child or grandchild of his brothers who had reached the age of eighteen years, provided at the time of such adoption he himself had no male child. His brothers Joseph and Louis, and their male descendants, were placed next in order of succession. This law of adoption was expressly restricted to Napoleon himself and did not extend to his successors. So at last the great question of heredity was settled — to the satisfaction of nobody. Of the four brothers, two, Lucien and Jérôme, were excluded from the line of succession because of their marriages, and two, Joseph and Louis, were wounded to the quick by the law of adoption.

About this time, Louis, who had always detested the mansion in the Rue de la Victoire, which his wife had selected during his absence, proceeded without

consulting Hortense to exchange it for a large hôtel in the Rue Cerutti, now Rue Laffitte, for which he paid an additional sum of 300,000 francs. This mansion had previously been the residence of four different men of finance, and later was to pass from Hortense to still another, a member of the Rothschild family. It was a most pretentious, but very gloomy house, without a ray of sunlight. At the same time, Louis purchased at Saint-Leu, about twelve miles from Paris, for the sum of 464,000 francs, two beautiful adjoining properties for a country residence. Here Hortense passed the summer, Louis being absent as usual. The 10 October 1804 she returned to her Paris residence, where on the following day was born her second son Napoleon Louis. The 24 March following, in the presence of the whole Imperial family, he was baptized at the palace of Saint-Cloud by the Pope himself, who had not yet left Paris after the coronation of the Emperor in December. Such exceptional honors had never been accorded before even to a dauphin of France. But it was not without a definite political end in view, that the Emperor had acted on this occasion. He had thus affirmed before his family and his Court the intention of adoption which he later expected to carry out.

The 2 August 1805 Louis was appointed Governor of Paris. During the campaign of Austerlitz, in the absence of the Emperor, Louis showed such zeal and activity in his new post as to win the enthusiastic approval of his brother.

After the great victory of Austerlitz, 2 December 1805, Napoleon began to carry out his plan of form-

ing a ring of states surrounding and in close alliance with the French Empire, and the 5 June 1806 he proclaimed Louis King of Holland. Almost from the start, Louis was in trouble with his brother because he wished to govern his Kingdom in the interests of Holland rather than of the French Empire, entirely ignoring the fact that he was neither the hereditary sovereign of the country, nor the elective choice of its people, but only the representative on the throne of his brother the Emperor of the French.

Hortense accompanied Louis to The Hague, when he went there to take up the reins of his new government. For a short period, peace reigned once more in the family. Then the quarrels began again. In July 1806 Hortense went with her husband to Aix-la-Chapelle, but did not go back to The Hague with him on his return the last of September. The campaign of Jena was just commencing and the Emperor directed Hortense to join her mother at Mayence, where the Empress was to be with her court. She did not return to her capital until seven months later at the end of January 1807, and then only upon the express order of the Emperor. She was no sooner back than a new quarrel began. This time it was Hortense who took it into her head to be jealous and caused the dismissal of a lady of the court.

The 13 December 1806 there was born at Paris a child to whom was given the name of Léon. He was the fruit of a short liaison between the Emperor and a reader of his sister Caroline, named Eléonore Dénuelle, aged twenty years.

The 5 May 1807, at the royal palace of The Hague, Napoleon Charles, the elder son of Louis and Hortense, died of the croup, at the age of four years and seven months.

These two events, seemingly of no great importance at the time, changed the destiny of the Empire and of the Emperor.

The heir-presumptive to the throne was dead, and Napoleon for the first time was satisfied that it was possible for him to have a direct heir of his own blood. From that moment the fate of Josephine was decided. The divorce was only a question of time.

The grief of Hortense over the death of her boy was so great that it was feared that she might lose her reason. She was finally persuaded to take her other child and go to join her mother, who came part way to meet her. After a brief visit at Malmaison, Hortense went to Cauterêts in the Pyrenees, where she was joined later by Louis, who had obtained permission from the Emperor to absent himself from his Kingdom. At this little watering-place, Louis and Hortense once more resumed their life in common. The 6 July, Louis left for Toulouse, where the Queen rejoined him the 12 August, and travelled with him to Saint-Cloud, where they arrived the last of the month. At that time there seemed to be a good understanding between them.

During the five weeks that Hortense remained at Cauterêts after the departure of Louis, she only once saw Monsieur Verhuell, who was at Barèges and came to pay his respects to his sovereign. Upon so slight a foundation was built the calumny which attributed

to his fascinating brother, who was never there at all, the parentage of Louis Napoleon, born at Paris nine months later. According to Masson, the Verhuell who called on the Queen was not the Admiral Carel-Hendrik, who was then at his post of Minister of Marine at The Hague, but his brother C. A. Verhuell, whom Louis had just appointed as Minister to Spain, a large, fat, stupid individual, who was generally disliked.

CHAPTER TWO

1808–1815

CHILDHOOD OF PRINCE LOUIS

Birth of Louis Napoleon — Holland Annexed to the Empire — Separation of Louis and Hortense — Flahaut and Morny — The Hundred Days — Departure of Napoleon — Josephine's Estate — Malmaison and Saint-Leu — Hortense in Exile

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, afterwards Napoleon the Third, Emperor of the French, was born at Paris on Wednesday, 20 April, 1808. The place of his birth was not the Tuileries, as the official historians state, but the new town house of his mother, Queen Hortense, at 8 Rue Cerutti, now the Rue Laffitte.

According to the testimony of the doctors in attendance on Hortense, one of whom was Corvisart, the Emperor's personal physician, the child came into the world nearly a month too soon, as was shown by his great weakness at the time of his birth. To revive him, it was necessary to employ wine baths and to wrap him in cotton.

At a later date, Louis, who was ill, restless and suspicious, on several occasions expressed doubts as to the legitimacy of his youngest son, saying that "not a drop of the blood of the Bonapartes flowed in his veins." It must be admitted that Hortense, who was young, attractive and capricious, and who with good reason detested her husband, from whom she

was separated most of the time, often acted in a manner to lay herself open to suspicion. But there is conclusive evidence, in the form of letters and memoirs, besides the facts above stated, which definitely disposes of the calumny, that Louis Napoleon was the offspring of the attractive Dutch Admiral. Furthermore, there is no question of the strong resemblance in disposition between King Louis and his youngest son, who early gave signs of the grave and dreamy character of his father. Another ground of suspicion was found in the undeniable fact that Louis, who greatly resembled his mother, was entirely lacking in those physical traits which so strongly marked nearly all the members of the Bonaparte family, but this is very far from being any proof of illegitimacy.

The mendacious "Ambès" also tries to establish the fact that Napoleon was the father of Louis Napoleon. He begins by saying that the 7 July 1807 Napoleon had signed the famous Treaty of Tilsit, and then continues: "He was back at Saint-Cloud *before the end of the month*. . . . Here is something then to go upon. Napoleon was in France at the end of July," and so on. He absolutely ignores the well-established facts that while Napoleon was at Saint-Cloud, in the suburbs of Paris, Hortense during the months of July and August was hundreds of miles away, at the baths of Cauterêts in the Pyrenees, and that she did not reach Saint-Cloud until the very end of August, when she was *enceinte*. This is only mentioned to show to what ridiculous extents the calumniators can go in trying to make out their case.

At the time of the birth of Louis Napoleon, the Emperor was at Bayonne in southern France, directing the movements of his armies in Spain, and trying to straighten out the tangle of affairs in the Peninsula, but he was not too busy to send a letter of congratulations to Hortense, in which he directed that the boy should be named Charles Napoleon. Two years and a half were to elapse, however, before the christening, which was celebrated very brilliantly in the chapel of the palace of Fontainebleau, 4 November 1910, his sponsors being the Emperor and the new Empress Marie-Louise. Several years before, a family register had been prepared by order of Napoleon, in which to record the births of the children of the Imperial family, and by a chance which strikes the imagination, the name of Louis Napoleon was the first to be inscribed in the book. He was christened Charles Louis Napoleon, Charles in honor of his grandfather, Louis for his father, and Napoleon for the Emperor. He never used the name of Charles, however, and always signed himself Louis Napoleon until he became Emperor, when he dropped the name of Louis by which he had always been known in his family.

In March 1808 the Emperor offered to Louis the throne of Spain, which had been declared vacant. On his refusal to accept it, the doubtful honor went to his eldest brother Joseph.

Meanwhile the disagreement between Napoleon and Louis over the policy of Holland continued, and the increasing stringency of the continental blockade against English goods finally brought the two brothers

to the breaking point. In the latter part of 1809, the Emperor decided to annex Holland to the French Empire in order to put a stop to the trade which the Dutch secretly carried on with England, and early in the following year French troops began to occupy various parts of Holland, and finally moved on the capital. Thereupon Louis fled from his Kingdom, and after some wanderings took up his residence in Bohemia. The rest of his life he spent entirely separated from his wife. In July 1810 the Low Countries were formally annexed to the French Empire.

After the exile of Louis, Hortense continued to live in Paris in close relation with the Imperial court. Her conduct was far from irreproachable, and in October, 1811, she gave birth to a son who afterwards became the celebrated statesman of the Second Empire, the Duc de Morny. His father was Comte de Flahaut, a well-known French general and statesman, who is perhaps better remembered for his exploits in gallantry, and the elegant manners in which he had been carefully trained by his mother, than for his public services, which however were not inconsiderable.

It was generally believed at Paris that Flahaut was the fruit of his mother's liaison with Talleyrand, who certainly took a fatherly interest in his career. Flahaut served with distinction during several campaigns of the Empire and finally became general of division and aide de camp to the Emperor. After the abdication of Napoleon in 1814 he submitted to the new Government, and continued to reside at Paris, where he was devoted in his attentions to Hortense.

He rejoined the army during the Hundred Days and fought at Waterloo. After the return of the Bourbons, he probably would have been shot, like Marshal Ney, except for the powerful influence of Talleyrand. He retired to England, where he married the daughter of Admiral Lord Keith. His eldest daughter, Emily, married the Marquess of Landsdowne, and was the mother of the present Lord Landsdowne. He returned to France in 1827, and in 1830 was made a peer of France by Louis Philippe. In 1841 he was ambassador to Vienna, where he remained until the Revolution of 1848. Under the Second Empire he was ambassador at the court of St. James's from 1860 to 1862. He died 1 September 1870, the eve of the surrender at Sedan. His life of eighty-five years therefore covered the entire period of time from the French Revolution to the Third Republic, which was proclaimed three days after his death. He survived his celebrated son, Morny, by five years.

After the first abdication of Napoleon and his departure for the island of Elba, Hortense lived at Malmaison with her two children, under the protection of the Czar Alexander. She had received permission to remain at Paris on condition that she should be calm and prudent. At the request of Alexander, the King conferred upon her the title of Duchesse de Saint-Leu, and also continued the handsome allowance from the State of 400,000 francs which she had received under the Empire.

Then came the sudden return of the Emperor from Elba, the flight of the Bourbons, and the eventful Hundred Days.

NAPOLEON

On his arrival in Paris the night of Monday 20 March 1815, Napoleon went directly to the Tuileries, where he was received by Hortense and the greater part of the grand dignitaries of the Empire. At two o'clock that afternoon the white flag of the Bourbons had been pulled down and the tricolor raised on the Pavillon de l'Horloge at the centre of the Château.

The Emperor's greeting to Hortense at first was rather cold, because of the reports which had reached him of her friendship with the Czar and her acceptance of a title from the King. But almost immediately the memory of Josephine disarmed his resentment towards her daughter, and opening his arms he tenderly embraced Hortense, saying:

"Vous avez donc vu mourir cette pauvre Joséphine? Au milieu de nos désastres, sa mort m'a navré le cœur."

He also spoke of his little son the King of Rome, four years old that very day, whom he was never to see again.

After remaining at the Tuileries for four weeks, on the 17 April he moved to the Elysée for the sake of greater tranquillity and less interruption to his tremendous labors. Here he dined alone every evening with Hortense. With her two sons she took part in the ceremony of the Champ-de-Mai, when the eagles were presented to the army before its departure for Belgium.

Before leaving Paris for the front, Napoleon wished to go to Malmaison, and asked Hortense to accompany him. After visiting the Château and the death-chamber of Josephine, where he displayed the most

profound emotion, he walked for an hour with Hortense in the gardens, talking of Josephine.

The evening of the 11 June, Hortense, at the request of the Emperor, took her two sons to his cabinet to bid farewell to their uncle who was to leave Paris at an early hour the next morning. Napoleon was more affectionate than usual in his caresses of the young Louis, who burst into tears and begged the Emperor not to leave for the war. After Hortense had taken him away, Napoleon turned to Marshal Soult, who was present, and made the prophetic remark:

"Il sera un bon cœur et une belle âme; c'est peut-être l'espoir de ma race."

Only ten days later, overcome with fatigue and grief, abandoned by fortune, this time forever, the Emperor returned to the Elysée from the fatal field of Waterloo. On Sunday 25 June he left Paris for the last time, and went to Malmaison, where he found Hortense and a few faithful friends awaiting him. Here he remained for several days in a state of doubt and hesitation very foreign to his usual character. In the meantime the Allies were fast drawing nearer to Paris, and it was necessary to reach a decision. Thursday afternoon at five o'clock, dressed in civilian costume for the first time in many years, after bidding a last adieu to his mother and Hortense, he entered his carriage and started for Rochefort. It was the first stage of the journey to Saint Helena!

Then, only a few days later, when the victorious Allies once more entered Paris, Hortense was forced to receive at her Château of Saint-Leu King Frede-

rick William of Prussia and his two sons, the younger of whom, then a boy of eighteen, was afterwards the first German Emperor. So the two Emperors, William and Napoleon, who fifty-five years later were to meet for the last time on the tragic field of Sedan, here met for the first time as boys.

The Bourbons are once more seated on the throne of France. Napoleon is on his way to Saint Helena. Josephine has been dead a year. For the moment, the Bonaparte family is scattered far and wide. The Emperor's mother, Madame Mère, is living at Rome. Jérôme and his wife have been banished to Trieste, where are also Caroline, the widow of Murat, and her sister Elise. Joseph has found a refuge in the United States, and is widely separated from his wife and daughters who are in Brussels.

Hortense has lost forever her title of queen and her allowance from the State. For the rest of her life she is to be known as the Duchesse de Saint-Leu. Already, during the first Restoration, the calm and uneventful life which Hortense led with her two children at Saint-Leu and Malmaison had excited the suspicions of the royal spies. She was accused of plotting for the return of the Emperor, which was very far from being true. It was represented to the fat old Bourbon King that it was very dangerous for him to allow the fascinating Hortense to live only a few leagues from his capital, and to visit Paris as often as she wished, and above all to permit the two young Napoleons to grow up so near his throne. These apprehensions at the moment seemed ridiculous, but time was to show that they were not so unreasonable.

After the Hundred Days, the attacks on Hortense redoubled in violence, and she finally decided to go and take up her abode in Josephine's château at Prègny near Geneva.

Aside from her two châteaux of Malmaison and Prègny, and her fine collection of jewels, Josephine, who was one of the most extravagant of women, left little of value at the time of her death. During the period of less than ten years from her coronation 2 December 1804 to her death 29 May 1814, she spent the enormous sum of thirty million francs — all for her pleasure, her amusement, and the embellishment of her body. No less than seven times in these ten years Napoleon was called on to pay her debts, which again at the time of her death amounted to three millions more. In the settlement of her estate, Eugène took Malmaison and assumed the payment of her debts, while Hortense received Prègny and her jewels. When the succession was finally liquidated the share of each of her children amounted to about two million francs.

In June 1829, five years after the death of Prince Eugène, it was found necessary, in the final settlement of his estate, to dispose of Malmaison. At that time the château was purchased by a Swedish banker, and at his death in 1842 was resold to Queen Marie Christine of Spain. In 1861 it was bought by Napoleon the Third and made a museum for objects formerly belonging to Napoleon and Josephine. During the Franco-Prussian war it was pillaged by the Germans, and set on fire by the shells from the Paris forts during the last sortie from the city. In 1877 it was sold

JOSEPHINE

by the Empress Eugénie, and after passing through several hands was finally bought by a Jewish millionaire, named Osiris, who had the generous thought of restoring it as nearly as possible to its former state and presenting it to the government as a museum of Napoleonic relics.

In the crypt of the handsome church built by Napoleon the Third, in the village of Saint-Leu, is the burial-place of many members of the Bonaparte family. In the vault there lie Charles Bonaparte of Corsica, the father of the race, his son King Louis, and his sons Napoleon Charles and Napoleon Louis. Josephine and Hortense are buried in the beautiful church, rebuilt during the Second Empire, at Rueil, near Malmaison.

It was hard for Hortense to make up her mind to bid adieu forever to Saint-Leu and to the woods and gardens of Malmaison where so many happy days had been passed. While she was still hesitating over the date of her departure, the 19 July 1815 she received a peremptory order to leave Paris within twenty-four hours. The following day Hortense left Paris for her long exile in Switzerland. The provinces were in a state of great disorder, and she owed her safety during the journey to the Austrian Prince Schwarzenberg, who appointed his own adjutant, Comte de Woyna, to escort the exiles to the frontier, a mission which he fulfilled with courage and delicacy. The journey to the frontier was full of perils, but after experiencing many anxieties and dangers, the fugitives finally reached Geneva in

safety, and went to the Hôtel de Sécheron, where they hoped to find a little rest and peace. But Hortense was not yet at the end of her troubles, for she was at once ordered to leave the city. For the moment she retired to Aix in Savoie, where she hoped to be allowed to remain. To add to her distress of mind, while at Aix she was forced to part with the elder of her two remaining children. Some months before, King Louis, who was living in retirement at Rome, had begun an action in the French courts to recover possession of his two sons, claiming that he wished to supervise their education. Hortense defended the action, but in March 1815 the case was decided against her so far as the elder of the two boys was concerned, and by decree of the court she was ordered to send Napoleon Louis to his father. The return of Napoleon from Elba and the Hundred Days made it possible for her to put off the date of parting with her son, but she was finally forced to yield.

Hortense at last on the 21 October received the decision of the Swiss Government granting her permission to make her home upon the banks of Lake Constance. The last of November, in wintry weather, she set out upon her journey, and though difficulties were raised at every stage of her progress, she at length reached Constance. Here she was compelled on her arrival to put up at a wretched inn, where it was impossible to find room for her household. She had but one sitting-room; she was without her piano or books; and her only distraction, when she could go out, was a walk through the snow-covered streets of the town. It is difficult to imagine a duller winter

place than Constance. The only points of interest are the famous Council Hall, the house of John Huss, and the place in which he was burned at the stake; but there is a magnificent view of the snow-capped mountains beyond the lake. Even now, at the height of the season, there is scarcely an English or French book to be had, and certainly not a newspaper. But in 1815, in the dead of winter, a more dreary spot could not be imagined, and especially for a person of the temperament of Queen Hortense.

Hortense immediately began the search for a house, and succeeded in finding a comfortable dwelling just at the point where the lake flows into the river Rhine. The house commanded a view of the expanse of the lake on one side and of the river on the other. The place was out of repair, and it was the end of the year 1815 before Hortense was finally established with her household. Here she remained until February 1817, when she concluded the purchase of the old Château of Arenenberg, which was to be her permanent home in Switzerland during the remaining twenty years of her life.

CHAPTER THREE

1815–1831

LIFE IN SWITZERLAND

Exile at Constance — The Château of Arenenberg — Character of Hortense — Education of a Prince — At Augsburg and Thun — Death of Eugène — The July Revolution — The Italian Insurrection — Death of Napoleon Louis — Flight from Ancona to Paris — Louis Philippe — First Visit to England — Return to Arenenberg

HAVING purchased the 10 February 1817 for the sum of 44,000 francs the Château of Arenenberg, Hortense took possession during the summer of that year and occupied herself with making it as attractive as possible. She had as neighbors her brother Eugène, who had built a house on the lake, and her cousin Stéphanie, the Grand Duchess of Baden, who had a summer place at Mannenbach.

The Château, located about six miles west of Constance, stands on a magnificently wooded hill, over a thousand feet above the level of the sea. It overlooks, not the Lake of Constance itself, but what is known as the Unter See, an expansion of the Rhine where the river leaves the lake, and it is charmingly situated opposite the isle of Reichenau.

Arenenberg, in spite of its name, possessed very little of the character of a château either in its exterior architecture or in its interior arrangements. The entrance was very simple, and the park around the

house did not give the idea of an extensive domain. The site however was very picturesque, with its magnificent view over the Lake of Constance, and the valley, with the dark line of the Black Forest in the background. In the gardens the attention of the visitor was drawn to the great number of rare shrubs and plants. The rooms of the mansion, although small in size, were adorned with a magnificent collection of objets d'art.

Jerrold, in his "Life of Napoleon III," states that, at the time Hortense purchased Arenenberg, it was a little old-fashioned château, commanding superb views of the lake and river and landscape, sheltered around by fine timber and approached on all sides through vineyards. The entrance was reached by an old drawbridge. It was just the spot to appeal to the romantic imagination of a woman like Hortense. It was a fine old feudal seat, which she transformed into a palace. To-day not much more than the shell of the original house remains. A broad terrace was thrown out, from which there is a magnificent view. Winding paths, shady groves, arbors and shrubbery were contrived. At the time Hortense bought it, the Château was surrounded by walls — it was a fortified place. During her life-time the house was filled with relics from Malmaison. It was a museum of Napoleonic souvenirs and family portraits. Unfortunately some of the finest pieces were removed to Paris during the Second Empire and perished in the destruction of the Tuileries and Saint-Cloud.

Arenenberg was later given by the Emperor Napoleon to Eugénie, who made frequent visits there dur-

ing the palmy days of the Second Empire, and later, with the young Prince Imperial, when she was living in exile in England. In the first moments of his misfortune, in 1870, the thoughts of the Emperor turned to his former home in Switzerland, and he sent to the Château the little iron bedstead which he had used during the fatal campaign of Sedan, and it was placed in his mother's room beside the bed on which she died. The carriage in which he was borne away to captivity, and the Imperial fourgon, were also sent to Arenenberg.

For the present, the wanderings of Hortense and Louis were at an end. But, notwithstanding the quiet life which they led, for many years they were not free from the watchful eyes of the French secret police. All they could learn, however, was that Hortense received quite frequent visits from the outside world, that she was always ready to help her neighbors who were in need, and that she was much beloved by all the people of the canton. What the police had no means of learning was that Hortense kept alive in her soul the fire of faith in the future of the Bonaparte cause, and that she only awaited the moment when her son should be old enough to learn from her the principles and the duties of a militant imperialism. To the education supervised by his mother, the future Emperor owed the ideals and aspirations which through many years of failure were to be the guiding star of his life. Like his uncle the Great Emperor, Louis Napoleon had much of the fatalist in his character.

Though little suspected at the time, the connect-

ing link between the First and Second Empires was Hortense, the daughter of Josephine and the mother of Louis Napoleon. In spite of her frail appearance, her quiet life in a secluded district of Switzerland, her air of detachment from all that was going on in the great world outside, Hortense possessed an energy and vitality of spirit which no one realized. Of a languid temperament, in the ordinary affairs of everyday life she usually complied with the wishes of others. But it was very different when any question of real importance was to be decided. Then she showed the greatest decision of character, a reserve of moral force which surprised everybody.

As we have already seen, Hortense was not a model wife, and was not above reproach in this respect, notwithstanding the excuse she had for her conduct. But she was a perfect mother, and to the education of her son she gave all that was best in her. To her maternal duties she devoted all the thought and attention which King Louis accused her of not showing as a wife. She was never demonstrative in her tenderness towards her sons and brought them up in the simplest and most natural manner. In the family they were always addressed by their names of Napoleon and Louis and never as "Prince." At Saint-Leu in 1814 the boys were much surprised when the royal visitors at the Château in speaking to them used the term "Monseigneur." Hortense was always the soul of generosity. During the last day of the visit of Napoleon at Malmaison, in 1815, when his mother and other members of the family were importuning the Emperor for money, Hortense brought to him and

insisted upon his accepting her handsomest diamond necklace. Her heart was nearly broken when she lost her eldest child at The Hague, and according to Madame de Rémusat she never forgot or forgave the conduct of her husband prior to the birth of Louis Napoleon in believing her capable of an *intrigue galante* at a time when plunged in grief she only wished for death. It was then that she conceived such a feeling of hatred and contempt for the jealous and suspicious nature of Louis that she resolved never to live with him again. It was also a terrible blow to her later when she was forced by the decree of the French courts to yield to her husband the possession of her second son Napoleon Louis, who as a boy possessed a charming spirit and a very precocious mind. After that all her hopes and aspirations were centered in Louis. We shall see how the future Napoleon the Third reflected in his character and in his acts the sweet and romantic, but at the same time strong and positive nature of his mother.

As a child Louis Napoleon was quiet and good, but gave no indications of possessing extraordinary talent or more than average intelligence. His mother made no attempt to hurry his education, but she lost no opportunity of studying his character; and, in talking and playing with him at this early age, she endeavored to develop his mind slowly, so that when the time came for him to have a regular teacher he could make rapid progress. His first master was the good Abbé Bernard, who did but little to awaken his interest in his studies. After several years, during which he made little progress, it was thought best

LOUIS, KING OF HOLLAND

to confide the direction of his education to more capable hands.

His next professor was Philippe Le Bas, a man of very different character. Son of an old member of the National Convention, a follower of Robespierre, brought up in the hard school of toil and poverty, he was a man of severe taste and scrupulous integrity. It was only after much hesitation that he decided to leave his family in Paris and accept the new position to which he had been highly recommended by friends of Hortense. At the very outset he recognized the fact that in Louis he had to do with an unusual character, at once sweet and strong, timid and restrained. Also that so far the boy had learned practically nothing of the subjects which he had studied, and that his education must be recommenced from the first rudiments. Hortense had placed him in full charge of his pupil, and he began by trying to create around him a new atmosphere. There was to be no more interference by the household; all of his meals were to be simple and frugal and taken in company with his tutor. As Louis was of a very nervous temperament, all violent exercises were forbidden him, horse-back riding, skating, even dancing. He found that his pupil had a natural aptitude for learning, but very little precise knowledge. For his age, he was very backward. He was completely lacking in concentration and had a great distaste for serious study. Le Bas began by endeavoring to arouse his intelligence, to excite his *amour-propre*. Louis was naturally so sweet and amiable that he quickly responded to the interest which his tutor took in him, and formed a real affec-

tion for Le Bas. Under the good Abbé there had been no regular hours either for meals or for study. A radical reform was at once inaugurated by Le Bas. Each hour had its appointed task. Many of our school boys of to-day would consider very severe the régime of study and exercise to which Prince Louis submitted without a murmur. His advancement was slow but sure. The daily walks which he took for his health were enlivened by lessons in natural history and astronomy. So much trouble and effort had its reward, and both the master and Hortense were well pleased with the rapid progress of the pupil. All his after-life Louis Napoeon was to show in his acts and his policies the strange mixture of despotism and liberalism which he received by inheritance and by education. It was a singular chance by which the nephew and heir of the modern Cæsar, who was also to win his way to absolute power by a coup d'état, should have had his young intelligence guided by the son of the *ancien conventionnel*, an ardent believer in the rights of the people.

Although Louis had made very satisfactory progress in his studies, in the spring of 1821 Le Bas advised Hortense to put her son in a public school at Augsburg in Bavaria, where he felt that competition with other boys of his own age would both stimulate and encourage him. After Easter he entered the school, where at first he was at a great disadvantage on account of his ignorance of the German language. Le Bas was much pleased at the stand taken by his pupil, writing his father that in a class of ninety-four the young Prince had taken the fifty-

fourth place. A little later he advanced to the rank of twenty-fourth in his class. In the gymnasium at Augsburg his love of study and his mental qualities were gradually revealed. He was stronger in literary subjects than in mathematics, and he became an adept in physical exercises, such as fencing, riding and swimming. His mother, in her joy and pride over the reports of his progress, was arranging a special fête in his honor at the Château when the sad news was received of the death of the Great Emperor.

During his school days at Brienne, Napoleon had written out a lesson in geography which he left unfinished, the last word being the name of the island of Saint Helena. Who could have imagined then what a sinister rôle this little island, then almost unknown, was to play in his career! Here he drew his last breath, after nearly six years of captivity, 5 May 1821, at ten minutes to six in the afternoon, just as the sun was setting. The last words which he had articulated before becoming unconscious the night before were:

"France — Mon fils — Armée."

Both Hortense and Eugène were profoundly affected by the sad news. Louis was so touched by his mother's grief that he wrote her a letter of consolation in which he addressed her as: "La fille aimée de l'Empereur."

Prince Eugène did not long survive Napoleon. He died suddenly at Munich 21 February 1824, of an attack of apoplexy, at the early age of forty-two. The end of his life had been very tranquil. After the fall of the Empire he had retired to the Kingdom of his father-in-law, where he bore the title of Duke of

Leuchtenberg. In his palace at Munich he had arranged a *chambre des souvenirs* which contained a large collection of objects which had belonged to Napoleon and Josephine.

The six children of Prince Eugène all made distinguished marriages. His eldest son, Eugène, married Queen Maria of Portugal in January 1835, but died only seven weeks later. The second son, Max, who succeeded his brother as Duke of Leuchtenberg, married the Grand Duchess Marie, eldest daughter of the Czar Nicholas. They had a large family of children, who were prominent in court circles in Russia during the Imperial régime. His eldest daughter, Joséphine, in 1823, married Oscar, the Crown-Prince of Sweden, son of Napoleon's former Marshal Bernadotte, and was the grandmother of the present King Gustavus the Fifth. The second daughter, Eugénie, became the wife of a Prince of the Hohenzollern family. Amélie married Dom Pedro, the first Emperor of Brazil, and was in London in 1831 at the time of the visit of Hortense and Louis, her husband having just abdicated in favor of his son. The youngest daughter married the Count of Würtemberg.

During the lifetime of her brother, Queen Hortense lived a part of the year in Bavaria to be near him. After his death she no longer had any reason for visiting Germany, so she spent all her time at Arenenberg.

As Louis was becoming more mature, Hortense now felt that he should have another tutor than Le Bas, who was imbued with the ideas of the Revolution. His successor was a democratic imperialist named

Vieillard, who had previously been employed by King Louis as instructor for their son Napoleon. Vieillard remained his intimate friend and trusted adviser to the end of his life.

Louis seems to have remained in the college at Augsburg more than four years, a longer period than stated by most of his historians. Here the most methodical part of his education was pursued, under the eyes of his mother as well as his tutor. Even when his mother finally left Bavaria in 1824 after the death of her brother Eugène, Louis remained behind with his tutor.

After the completion of his civil education in the college at Augsburg, Louis went to the camp at Thun in Switzerland. Here he took up and completed a course in military training, with Colonel Dufour and Colonel Fournier, both old officers of Napoleon, who instructed him in artillery and military engineering.

During his vacations, Louis travelled with his mother over every part of Switzerland, — he visited his uncle Eugène, he went with his mother to Rome, where she spent all her winters from 1824 to 1831, except the winter of 1827 which was passed in Geneva. In the course of these travels he became acquainted through the fascination of his mother and her love of society with many of the leading men of the time. This helped to develop his mind rapidly.

The third Lord Malmesbury, who made the acquaintance of Louis at Rome in 1829, and who remained his close friend throughout his life, has given in his memoirs a description of the Prince at that time. He says: "Although short he was very active

and muscular. He excelled in all physical exercises. He was a remarkable swimmer, an admirable horseman, and a noted gymnast. His face was grave and dark, but redeemed by a singularly bright smile. Such was the personal appearance of Louis Napoleon at the age of twenty-one years."

His portrait has been sketched at greater length by another who knew him well about this same time:

"The Prince has an agreeable face, is of middle height, and has a military air. At first sight, I was struck with his resemblance to the Prince Eugène and the Empress Josephine, but I have not remarked the same resemblance to the Emperor. The moustache which he wears, with a slight imperial, gives to his face a too specially military character, not to interfere with his resemblance to his uncle. But on observing the essential features, one is not long in perceiving that the Napoleonic type is reproduced with an astonishing fidelity: the same high and broad and straight forehead, the same finely proportioned nose, the same gray eyes, although the expression is softened. There are above all the same lines and the same inclination of the head, so marked with the Napoleonic character."

In 1825 Prince Napoleon, at the age of twenty-one, married his cousin Charlotte, second daughter of King Joseph, but continued to reside at Florence with his father King Louis. Napoleon seems to have had all the fine qualities and striking presence of his uncle Eugène. He was a stalwart, bold, dashing fellow, full of health and spirits. There were no limits

to the love and admiration of Louis for his elder brother.

The French Revolution of 1830 found Napoleon in Italy, and Louis at the military school of Thun. Both were aroused to action by the news from Paris. Though separated, their feelings were the same. They both wrote their mother in the same terms:

"France at last is free. Our exile is over. The country is open — no matter how, we will serve it." Hortense, however, was far from sharing their hopes.

Prince Napoleon was urged to come to France to work to put his cousin Napoleon the Second on the throne. But a new sovereign, Louis Philippe, had already been chosen, and he refused to take any action which might result in plunging the country in civil war.

In October 1830, Queen Hortense, accompanied by Prince Louis, set out from Arenenberg to pass the winter as usual in Rome. She travelled by way of the Tyrol to Venice, and thence by Bologna to Florence, where she passed a happy fortnight with her two sons, the father, King Louis, being for the moment in Rome. She found that the young Napoleon had received communications from Paris urging him in the absence of his cousin the Duke of Reichstadt to take the lead of the Bonaparte family, and that he had refused from motives which did him honor.

The middle of November, Hortense started for Rome with Louis. Arrived in Rome, the Queen prepared to spend the winter in her usual fashion. But it was not to be. The winter was to prove to be the most unhappy of her life.

The death of the Pope, Pius the Eighth, the last day of November, was the signal for an insurrection in the States of the Church. The whole Peninsula was in a state of great unrest. All of the secret societies were confident that the time had now arrived to carry out their purposes. Leaders, however, were lacking. There was no unity of purpose, no guiding hand. In half a dozen places there sprang up as many separate and distinct provisional governments. Louis, who had shown his sympathy with the revolutionary movement, was seized in Rome and escorted across the frontier of the Papal States. He went to Florence and joined his brother. Here they were approached by Menotti, one of the chiefs of the insurrectionary movement, who appealed to the two young Princes to join the cause and strike a blow for the freedom of down-trodden Italy. He represented to them that their name would be a rallying-point for patriots from the Alps to the Strait of Messina. With his earnest manner and persuasive tongue, he aroused the enthusiasm of Napoleon and Louis, who threw themselves into the movement heart and soul.

The 20 February 1831, Napoleon left his young wife and his father at Florence, and with his brother Louis went to join the insurgents in the Romagna. Both King Louis and Queen Hortense attempted to dissuade their sons from this perilous enterprise. But Prince Louis wrote to his mother: "Nous avons pris des engagements, nous ne pouvons y manquer."

One of the consequences of these engagements was to be, at a later day, the Italian war of 1859.

Both of the Princes were given commissions as

officers. Louis soon showed the benefit of his military training and rendered very valuable service. But the Princes soon aroused the jealousy and enmity of the other leaders, who claimed that their names and imperial antecedents were a menace to the cause of democracy. They therefore resigned their commissions and volunteered to fight as simple soldiers in the ranks. Even this offer was refused. So they left the insurgent forces and retired to Bologna. By this time the Austrian troops were pouring into Italy, and their position was one of extreme peril. The authorities were active in their pursuit.

On the tenth of March, Hortense set out from Florence to find her sons and save them from the Austrians. A week later, she finally got in communication with them. Pushing on towards Ancona, she was met by Louis who brought the news of his brother's sudden death at Forli, on the 27 March, after only three days' illness, on the eve of the occupation of the place by the Austrian troops.

The unfortunate mother, who had just lost her elder son, was in mortal terror of also having her only remaining son arrested and condemned as an insurgent. It required all of her courage and all of her presence of mind to save him. With Louis, who was also ill, she went on to Ancona, where she found refuge in the house of her nephew. Here Louis also came down with the measles, which had been the cause of the death of his brother, and which seem to have been of a malignant type.

By this time the insurrection had been suppressed, and the town was occupied by the Austrian Army.

The general in command, Geppert, chose the house where Hortense was staying for his headquarters, and she was in constant fear that the hiding-place of Louis might be discovered. He was seriously ill, and could not be moved for several days. Hortense had given out the report that Louis had escaped by sea to Greece, and this seems to have been believed by the Austrians. Hortense apparently succeeded, as usual, in fascinating Geppert, who treated her with great courtesy, and granted her request for a pass through the Austrian lines. As soon as Louis was well enough to travel, they left Ancona, early on Easter morning. Louis was disguised in the livery of a domestic, and sat on the box of his mother's calèche.

After traversing the greater part of Northern Italy, meeting with every kind of accident, and in continual danger of discovery and arrest, they finally arrived in safety at Genoa. From there they were able to travel to Cannes in France without further adventures.

From Cannes they proceeded to Paris, in spite of the law of proscription which forbade them to enter France. The intention of Hortense was to remain in Paris only long enough to see the King and inform him of her plans and then proceed to Switzerland. She felt that she had every reason to expect a cordial reception from Louis Philippe on account of favors which she had shown his mother and other members of his family in the past.

All of the route traversed by Hortense on her way to Paris was full of memories of the past. At Nemours, in 1809, by order of the Emperor, she had met her

brother Eugène, summoned from Italy, and announced to him the painful news of the coming divorce of their mother the Empress Josephine. At Fontainebleau, she recalled the splendors of the Court of Napoleon during the glorious days of the Empire. Here she showed her son the Palace where she had stayed in 1807 during the brilliant fêtes in celebration of the Treaty of Tilsit, when the city was crowded with foreign princes who came to pay their homage to the Great Emperor. Here also she pointed out to Louis the place where he was held at the baptismal font by Napoleon while Cardinal Fesch, his great-uncle, performed the christening ceremony. In the cabinet of the Emperor they saw the small table, which is still preserved there, upon which in 1814 he signed his first abdication of the Imperial crown.

After passing the fortifications of Paris, on their arrival, Hortense told the coachman to go by the boulevards to the Rue de la Paix and to stop at the first hôtel he came to. Chance took them to the Hôtel de Hollande, which still exists in the same street. From her little apartment on the first floor she could see on the left the boulevard and on the right the column of the Place Vendôme.

A few days after her arrival she was received by Louis Philippe in a private audience at the Palais Royal. The King greeted her very cordially and spoke of his own days of exile, when he was obliged to teach to gain his living. On the 5 May, anniversary of the death of Napoleon, enormous crowds of old soldiers filled the Place Vendôme, where they placed wreaths and crowns of flowers at the foot of the column. This

spontaneous celebration seems to have aroused the fears of the French Ministry, and Hortense and Louis, who were still living incognito at the Hôtel de Hollande, received a peremptory order to leave Paris immediately. The following day they set out for England. In London, after a temporary stay at Fenton's Hotel, they took up their residence in Holles Street, where they again resumed their own name, and were soon the centre of a brilliant circle of influential friends.

In London, Louis soon entirely recovered his health, which had been delicate since his illness in Italy. Much of their time was spent in sight-seeing. They visited the Tower, the Thames Tunnel, Richmond and Hampton Court. The Duchess of Bedford, whom Hortense had entertained in Paris at the time of the Peace of Amiens, was especially friendly, and paid most marked attention to the exiles, giving a magnificent fête in their honor at Woburn Abbey. In London, Hortense was visited by her niece Amélie, married to Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil; and Prince Leopold, soon to become the King of the Belgians, called to pay his respects.

The first of August 1831, Prince Talleyrand, then Ambassador of France at the Court of Saint James's, sent Hortense word by his niece the Duchesse de Dino that he had procured passports for herself and her son which would enable them to return safely to Switzerland by way of France. After the receipt of their passports they spent several days at Tunbridge Wells en route for Dover, where they embarked for Calais.

At Boulogne they visited the site of the former camp of the Emperor, at the time he was preparing for the invasion of England in 1805. Some historians state that they also went to see the lofty marble Column of the Grand Army, crowned by a bronze statue of the Emperor, but this was not erected until some years later. They then travelled directly to Chantilly, near Paris, where they stopped to visit the Château, which during the Empire was given by Napoleon to Hortense for her second son Napoleon Louis. The Château had formerly belonged to the Princes of Condé.

The house of Condé, for many centuries the most distinguished in France next to the royal family, was descended from Louis de Bourbon, fifth and last son of Charles, Duc de Vendôme, younger brother of Antoine, King of Navarre. He was therefore first cousin of Henri Quatre.

The existing Château was built by the famous Constable de Montmorency, whose grandson and heir was beheaded at Toulouse for joining in the conspiracy of Gaston d'Orléans, the brother of Louis the Thirteenth, against Richelieu. His confiscated domains were given by the King to his sister Charlotte, who married the Prince de Condé, and was the mother of the Grand Condé, and of the Duchesse de Longueville, whose exploits will be remembered by all readers of the great historical romances of Dumas.

The magnificence of Chantilly dates from the Grand Condé, who in 1671 gave there a celebrated fête in honor of Louis the Fourteenth. It was on this

occasion that the famous cook Vatel killed himself because the fish was late.

The last of the family was the Duc de Bourbon, father of the Duc d'Enghien executed by Napoleon, and who married his cousin, Louise d'Orléans. After the Second Restoration, he bought Saint-Leu of Hortense, and committed suicide there a few days before the Revolution of 1830. Chantilly was bequeathed with most of his property to his great-nephew, the Duc d'Aumale, the balance being left to his English mistress Sophia Dawes, known as the Baronne de Feuchères.

The first and last King of the Orleans family, which was descended from the Duc d'Orléans, younger brother of Louis the Fourteenth, was Louis Philippe, who was King of the French from 1830 to 1848. The Duc d'Aumale was his most distinguished son.

The Bourbon family became extinct with the death in 1885 of the Comte de Chambord, the grandson of Charles the Tenth. The present head of the Orleans family is the Duc d'Orléans, son of the Comte de Paris, who was a grandson of Louis Philippe.

The Château of Chantilly, which was partially destroyed during the Revolution, was rebuilt on a magnificent scale between 1876 and 1882 by the Duc d'Aumale. At his death in 1897 he left the Château with its magnificent collection of paintings and sculptures to the Institute of France, and it is now known as the Musée Condé.

Hortense thought it best not to enter Paris, but she spent several days in the neighborhood. She could

not bring herself to visit her old home at Saint-Leu, on account of the many mournful associations connected with it. She went however to Rueil to see the tomb of her mother.

In 1824, the year of his death, Eugène had purchased with his sister Hortense one of the chapels of the church at Rueil in order to build a tomb for Josephine. This monument, of white marble, bears the figure of the Empress, dressed as in the coronation painting by David, kneeling at a prie-dieu, and is inscribed: "A Joséphine, Eugène et Hortense, 1825." The church itself was afterwards rebuilt by the Emperor Napoleon the Third, who had erected on the other side of the altar the tomb of his mother, with the figure of the Queen kneeling and crowned by an angel, and inscribed: "A la Reine Hortense, le Prince Louis Bonaparte."

After having prayed before the tomb of her mother, Hortense wished to visit Malmaison, which is only about half a mile from Rueil, but was refused admission as she lacked the necessary permit from the new owner. She therefore returned to Switzerland without having seen either of her former homes.

CHAPTER FOUR

1831–1836

YEARS OF WAITING

Life at Arenenberg — Death of the Duke of Reichstadt — Louis Napoleon Head of His Party — Captain Bonaparte at Thun — Political Activity — Visitors at the Château — Interview with La Fayette

HORTENSE and Louis passed the autumn and winter quietly at Arenenberg. The Queen, after the trying experiences of the summer, was glad to find herself once more in her quiet Swiss home, with its beautiful surroundings, where one heard only the song of the birds and saw only the cultivators at their work. Without giving up her hopes for the future, for the moment she was content to be forgotten by the outside world, in a refuge where she could have peace and quiet.

But in her solitude, Hortense never ceased to dream of the future which lay before the bearer of the magic name of Napoleon. Wherever she might be — at Geneva, in Italy, on the shores of Lake Constance, she carefully followed the political movements of the great nation over which her step-father had reigned. With her clear intelligence she foresaw a great future for her son. She lost no occasion of impressing upon Louis her political ideas. She told him that the name he bore would never be forgotten in Europe, and was a certain guarantee of a privileged position. "You never can tell," she said, "when popu-

QUEEN HORTENSE

lar imagination will raise to the skies the bearer of a great name."

"A woman of intelligence has always been the guiding star of men called to superior destiny," says Loliée. From Hortense, Louis Napoleon derived the principle, which he made the governing idea of his politics, that popular crowds are not guided by reason, but swayed by sentiment. From his mother he received not only his political training, but he also inherited the best side of his adventurous nature, the dreamy and romantic tenderness, the quiet obstinacy, the unalterable self-confidence, the force of character, and even the delicate sensibility.

The Prince, for his part, continued to occupy himself with his political and military studies. His thought was to keep himself before the public by his writings if he could not by his deeds. At the same time he did not neglect his daily exercise in swimming and equitation in which he excelled. A contemporary writer, Alphonse de Candolle, relates how, at Geneva, he saw the Prince spring from his mount and, after making the horse trot before him, jump into the saddle like a circus rider, displaying great suppleness as well as muscular force. "Yet he did not seem to be built for a good horseman, being thick of body and short of limbs," he adds. Many years later, his only son, the young Prince Imperial, was to lose his life in Africa because he lacked his father's skill in horsemanship, and could not mount without the aid of the stirrups.

From his earliest childhood, Hortense had insisted that Louis should be trained in all kinds of sports,

that he might acquire force, agility, promptness, and the moral qualities, decision, coolness and bravery, which go with such physical fitness.

Like Roosevelt, Louis Napoleon was very delicate and even feeble in early life, but like the great American he became by force of physical training a strong, healthy man in later years.

His mother, however, with all her love and devotion, could not entirely fill his life. He felt the lack of a companion of his own age. He thought of his brother Napoleon, who had married very young, and dreamed of a love-match for himself. He wrote to his father in Florence:

"J'ai tellement besoin d'affection que si je trouvais une femme qui me plût et qui convint à ma famille, je ne balancerais pas à l'épouser. Donnez-moi des conseils."

Hortense, from whom he had no secrets, was not kept in ignorance of his matrimonial projects. Notwithstanding her own unhappy life with her husband, she was far from being opposed to matrimony in principle. "It is the destiny of a woman," she said, "to have a home, a good husband, pretty children to bring up. What good is a woman without that?" In accord with these ideas, Hortense, like every good woman, was a fervent match-maker. But she had not yet found the ideal mate for her beloved Louis.

It was at this time that a great event in their lives, for the moment, changed the course of their thoughts: the King of Rome, Napoleon the Second, the Austrian Duke of Reichstadt, died at Vienna, 22 July

1832, after eighteen years of gilded captivity in the capital of his grandfather. No sensitive heart can avoid a feeling of sadness over the mournful end of a career which had begun with such a promise of glory and happiness.

The little Napoleon, in spite of a physical resemblance to his father, had much more of his Austrian mother in his disposition and character. It is difficult now to say, whether, given another environment and a different education, "l'aiglon" might not have developed into "l'aigle." His admirers tell us of his martial ardor, of his favorite amusement as a child of playing with toy soldiers, of his training his boy comrades in the manual of arms; but his mother Marie-Louise was probably nearer right when she replied to the Prince de Ligne, who said he had found a martial expression in his eyes: "Il est pacifique autant que moi." As the French very expressively put it: "Il était doux comme un agneau."

The death of the Duke of Reichstadt brought about grave political consequences. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was now the head of the family. The two lives which stood between him and the succession had been removed within a period of sixteen months.

During the lifetime of his brother, who was his idol and his model, Louis had been content to play a subordinate part. From now on he was the head of the family, "the slave of a mission." His life no longer belonged to himself alone, to do with it as he pleased. His future was pledged to the interests of his dynasty and of his country, France. He was the only Bonaparte living who had sufficient energy and abil-

ity to seize the heritage of power and glory which the Great Emperor had left to his family. Joseph, the eldest of the family, had no wish to take up the heavy burden of the succession. Jérôme, the youngest brother of the Emperor, thought the family chances were so small that he called himself an Orleanist, with the idea of being allowed to resume his residence in France through the clemency of that family. Louis, who was so crippled by rheumatism that he could hardly walk, had no ambition to assume the responsibility of trying to restore the fallen fortunes of the family. He was the last person to imagine that a visionary like his youngest son would ever occupy the throne of the Great Emperor. Lucien, ruined both in fortune and in health, then almost at the point of death, cared so little for the family succession that he had had his children naturalized as Roman citizens.

This general, if tacit, withdrawal of all claims in his favor, well answered the ambitious plans of the son of Hortense. After a visit the following year to his uncle, King Joseph, in England, who wished to discuss with him the new political situation brought about by the death of his cousin, the Duke of Reichstadt, Louis Napoleon no longer hesitated to pose as the inheritor of the Imperial claims. Joseph, who was old and cautious, hardly understood the plans of his nephew, and appears to have been somewhat bored and tired by what seemed to him to be only chimerical ideas. His advice was to be patient and wait until the times were more propitious. Louis on the other hand was burning with impatience to begin the con-

flict at once. It was another instance of the proverb: "Old men for counsel, young men for war." Louis Napoleon would have saved himself many years of exile and imprisonment if he had been willing to follow the advice of old King Joseph.

As all of his uncles, the former Kings, had withdrawn from the field, Louis Napoleon remained as the only representative of the Napoleonic legend. Born the third son of the Emperor's younger brother, Louis, King of Holland, three times the stroke of death had now removed those who stood between him and the Imperial succession. The year before his birth, his eldest brother, Napoleon Charles, had been carried off by the croup. The second brother, Napoleon Louis, had died of the measles, after only three days' illness, in Italy in 1831. Finally, his cousin, the Second Napoleon, had been laid to his eternal rest in the Church of the Capucins at Vienna. Without any wish or even expectation on his part, all who stood in his way had one by one been removed by the destroying Angel. He was now alone at the foot of the path which led to the summits of human grandeur.

The year following the journey of Hortense and Louis to England, they received at Arenenberg a visit from Chateaubriand. It was passing strange that in her misfortunes Hortense should have received the homage of the writer who in 1814 had penned against the fallen Emperor that violent libel entitled; "Buonaparte and the Bourbons," which was of so great assistance to the royal cause. It was

certainly a great tribute to the charm of Hortense that this Bourbon partisan of other days found pleasure in sitting at the fireside of the former Queen of Holland. In his "Mémoires d'outre-tombe" he has drawn this charming picture of the life at Arenenberg:

"The 29 August 1832 I went to dine at Arenenberg, which is situated on a kind of promontory in a chain of steep hills. The Queen of Holland has built here a château, or, if you wish, a pavillon. The view, which is extended but sad, dominates the lower lake of Constance, which is only an expansion of the Rhine over the inundated fields. The other side of the lake, you see the sombre woods, remnants of the Black Forest, and some white birds flying under a gray sky, driven by a freezing gale. There, after having sat upon a throne, after having been outrageously calumniated, Queen Hortense has come to perch upon a rock.

"As strangers, there were Madame Récamier, Monsieur Vieillard, and myself. Madame la Duchesse de Saint-Leu, which was the name then borne by Queen Hortense, had well outlived her difficult position as Queen and Demoiselle de Beauharnais.

"Prince Louis lives in a separate pavillon, where I saw weapons of all kinds, topographic and strategic maps, things which made one think by chance of the blood of the Conqueror. Prince Louis is a studious young man, well-informed, very honorable, and naturally serious."

Madame Récamier has also given in her "Souvenirs" some interesting details of this visit of Chateaubriand. She says:

"Queen Hortense put a gracious coquetry into the temporary hospitality which chance led her to extend to the faithful servant of the Bourbons, the former Minister of Louis XVIII, the author of the immortal pamphlet which had so powerfully contributed to the fall of the First Empire.

"Her establishment at Arenenberg was elegant, large without display, and her personal manners were simple and affectionate. Too much perhaps for one to have entire confidence, she made a great pretense of a taste for retired life, of a love of nature and an aversion for grandeur. It was not without some surprise, after all her protestations of the renunciation of the delusions of fortune, that the visitors saw the care which the Duchesse de Saint-Leu and all the members of her household took to treat her son Prince Louis as a sovereign: he was the first in everything."

Later came another visitor, of aspect very different from that of the grave Chateaubriand. In his "Memoirs," Alexandre Dumas has told the story in his usual lively manner. It is too long to quote here in full, but his account of one of the songs of Queen Hortense is worth repeating. He says, in part:

"After dinner, we returned to the drawing-room. Presently Madame de Saint-Leu was begged to install herself at the piano. She sang several songs that she had recently composed. I ventured to ask her for one of her old songs: 'Vous me quittez pour marcher à la gloire.' She said that the words had gone from her memory. I rose, and leaning over my chair, I recited the verses to her:

'Vous me quittez pour marcher à la gloire,
Mon triste cœur suivra partout vos pas;
Allez, volez au temple de mémoire;
Suivez l'honneur, mais ne m'oubliez pas.

'Que faire, hélas! dans mes peines cruelles?
Je crains la paix autant que les combats:
Vous y verrez tant de beautés nouvelles,
Vous leur plairez! — mais ne m'oubliez pas.

'Oui, vous plairez et vous vaincrez sans cesse;
Mars et l'Amour suivront partout vos pas:
De vos succès gardez la douce ivresse,
Soyez heureux, mais ne m'oubliez pas.'

"The Queen raised her hand to her eyes to dash away a few tears. Then she told me the story of the song: In 1808 the rumors of divorce began to spread, and when the Emperor was about to start for Wagram, Josephine begged Monsieur de Ségur to write her some verses on his departure. He brought her these words, and Hortense set them to music and sang them to the Emperor the day before he left. The Emperor listened to the end, then kissing Josephine on her forehead, with a sigh, he turned away into his study. The Empress burst into tears, for from that moment she felt that her fate was decreed."

Prince Louis had never finished his course of military training which he had begun in 1830, and which had been interrupted by the journey with his mother to Italy in October and the later events which have already been related. At Arenenberg in May 1832 he received formal notice that he had been awarded the title of honorary citizen of the Helvetian Republic.

The future Emperor expressed in the warmest terms the satisfaction which he felt at being able to call himself the citizen of a free country.

To complete his term of instruction, he arranged to enter directly the Swiss army with the grade of honorary officer. In 1834 he began his new military apprenticeship under the name of Captain Bonaparte, thus following in the footsteps of the greatest member of the family. To add to the resemblance, he had chosen as his arm of the service the artillery, in which the Emperor had served in his youth. He was assiduous in his attention to his military duties, strict as an officer, but kind to his subordinates, always ready to share with the privates the soup and the straw of the bivouac. He was well liked by all on account of the simplicity of his manners and his frank cordiality.

As the result of his studies and his experience he published a "Manual of Artillery," dedicated to the officers of the camp at Thun, the circulation of which was not confined to the borders of Switzerland. The work received the approbation of officers in the best armies of Europe. The success of this manual greatly increased his self-confidence, and he began to lose his former timidity. To the members of his party who came to Arenenberg to pay their respects to Queen Hortense he stated, with an assurance that astonished them, the certainty that he would one day be Emperor of the French.

His activity at this time was very great. He was full of ardor and enthusiasm. No means were neglected to keep himself before the eyes of the world. The events in France, the recent émeutes at Paris,

the imprudence of the Government, and the attacks of its opponents, vividly excited his disposition to become a conspirator.

At this time he paid a visit to his cousin the Grand Duchess Stéphanie in Baden, where he was very near the French frontier. Here he met many of his partisans. Hortense, in her correspondence with him, urged him to go slow, and await an opportune moment, but not, like his uncles, to go to the other extreme of silence and inaction.

In the very adroit letters which he wrote at this time to personal friends in France, he announced his theories of government, which permitted almost any interpretation which the reader wished to find in them. In one letter he writes: "Authority which is not based upon popular election is naturally turned to arrest the progress of civilization," and he adds: "Napoléon faisait tout pour le peuple, et le peuple, à son tour, a tout fait pour Napoléon."

He had recently had an interview with La Fayette, a man ever prompt to follow each turn of the wheel of fortune, whose fame has always been much higher in the United States than in his native land. This notorious turn-coat, who, after Waterloo, had presented to the Chambers the motion for the dethronement of Napoleon, promised his support to the new Imperial candidate. He said: "The Government cannot continue: your name is the only one which is popular." And, doubly unfaithful to the house which he had helped to elevate, he added: "Osez donc et je vous aiderai de tous mes moyens, quand le moment sera venu." Louis replied confidently: "Il viendra!"

CHAPTER FIVE

1836–1837

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

Revival of the Napoleonic Legend — The July Monarchy — Persigny at Arenenberg — Preparations at Baden — Eléonore Brault — Precedent of the Return from Elba — The Meeting at Strasbourg — The Thirtieth October — End of the Great Adventure — Hortense Rushes to Paris — Clemency of the King — Banishment to America — Days in New York — Return to Arenenberg — Death of Hortense

IN 1814, at the time of the return of the Bourbons, France was so weary of war, after a quarter of a century of almost continual conflict, that in many quarters the coming of the Allies was actually welcomed. Twenty years later the general sentiment had entirely changed. The horrors of war were forgotten, and only the memory of the glorious days of the Empire remained. A surprising warlike fervor took possession of the imagination of the people. In ardent lyrics the poets sang of the victories of the Revolution and the Empire. A legendary ideal grew up in which the memory of Napoleon shone, free from the shadows of misery and disaster which had darkened the last years of his reign. With a political blindness now hard to understand, the Orleans Government threw itself into the popular current, and thought to strengthen its position by favoring the new movement. With the desire to glorify the tri-

color, which since the Revolution of 1830 had once more become the national ensign of France, the Government of Louis Philippe did everything in its power to encourage the cult of the Napoleonic legend. The embers of Imperialism, fanned by their thoughtless breath, once more began to glow. Steps were taken to obtain the permission of the English Government to bring back the remains of Napoleon from Saint Helena, and a place was prepared for their reception under the dome of the Invalides. In brief, everything possible was done to encourage a renewal of the Bonaparte plots. The House of Orleans played a dangerous game in exalting the imagination of the people, in displaying again the glorious flags of Austerlitz and Jena. They simply put arms into the hands of the representative of the race who only awaited a favorable moment to again enter upon the scene.

Louis Napoleon was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity. "It is not only the ashes," he wrote, "it is also the ideas of the Emperor which should be brought back to France."

The July Monarchy had furnished the torch to set fire to its own house!

For some time past, Louis Napoleon had entered into very close relations with a man whose uncontrolled zeal was at a later date to embarrass him seriously. This was Fialin, known later under the Second Empire by the title of Duc de Persigny. Without estate or fortune, although he talked much of a large inheritance; of very doubtful birth, although he claimed to belong to one of the most illustrious

families of Brittany, he had been dismissed some time before from the army, where he had held a subordinate rank, for a notorious act of insubordination. For six years he had been looking for a favorable opening for the employment of his not inconsiderable talents for intrigue. He had been a royalist, he was equally ready to turn republican, but for the moment he was devoted to the Napoleonic cause. He was still known as Fialin, but he had recently dropped his family name to take the title of Vicomte de Persigny, which, he declared, belonged to his family, although he had previously neglected to bear it. Later, when he had been created a count and duke of the Empire by the favor of Napoleon the Third, he claimed close relationship to the family of Montmorency and other great houses distinguished in the history of France, even the princely and royal family of Orléans. At this earlier date, however, notwithstanding his pretended relationship with the Orleans Princes, he was devoted to the Bonaparte cause.

Fialin had already paid several visits to Arenenberg, which had now become a regular hotbed of conspiracy. Hortense was the stimulating spirit of the movement, although she still maintained her pose of complete indifference. In an unpublished fragment of her "Memoirs" she wrote at this time: "It is singular that I have never wished for anything but quiet and repose, and that destiny has always placed me *en évidence*. My ambition had been to live there, ignored, forgotten, for the rest of my days."

Early in the year 1836, Fialin joined the Prince and his party, then in process of formation, at Baden.

The place of reunion was the house of a very beautiful singer, Eléonore Brault, widow of an Englishman, Sir Gordon Archer. She was a woman of very adventurous spirit, who was said to have hunted the tiger when in India with her husband, before she charmed the capitals of Europe with her beautiful voice. Now she had thrown herself heart and soul into the Bonaparte cause. Formerly the *amie intime* of Persigny, and now of Louis Napoleon himself, love and politics were for the moment the double passion of her life. Besides her residence at Baden she also had a domicile at Strasbourg, which was very convenient for the plans of the conspirators.

The first person to be approached at Strasbourg was an aide de camp of General Voirol, commander of the 5th Military Division, whose adhesion would be of great importance to the cause. This was not successful, and Louis hazarded a second attempt which was made direct to the General himself, an old soldier of Austerlitz. The letter of the Prince was very adroitly worded, and was intended to touch the heart of the former companion-in-arms of the Emperor. He was asked to send only a word of reply by the bearer of the message. The "word" was brief and to the point: "All that I can do for the Prince," he replied, "is to give him a quarter of an hour to recross the Rhine."

Attempts in other quarters were equally barren of results. But Louis Napoleon had inherited from his mother a very persevering will. A final appeal was made to Colonel Vaudrey, commanding one of the regiments of the Strasbourg garrison. Vaudrey was

an old soldier of the Empire, and had fought at Waterloo. A friend of the lovely Eléonore, the Colonel was not so difficult to win to the cause, and he gave his assurance that he would not be found wanting when the moment for action arrived.

Strong in his convictions, decided to raise again the Imperial eagles, or to fall a victim to his political faith, Louis Napoleon was now determined to make his attempt at Strasbourg.

"He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all."

The attempt of Louis Napoleon at Strasbourg has been called crazy and foolhardy, and treated with ridicule. Foolhardy it was, perhaps, but neither crazy nor ridiculous. He had in his mind the memory of the celebrated return of Napoleon from the Island of Elba. He recalled the circumstances of his departure, and the traverse of the sea; the arrival at Cannes on the coast of France; the audacious and rapid march into the interior, at the head of a handful of soldiers; the celebrated scene at the defile of Laffray near Grenoble, where, clad in the familiar gray overcoat, Napoleon advanced alone to meet the troops sent out to capture or kill him, and baring his breast, said: "S'il est parmi vous un soldat qui veuille tuer son Empereur, me voilà!" ("If there is among you a soldier who wishes to kill his Emperor, here I am!")

History has no record of an enterprise more foolhardy, more brilliantly executed, and crowned with a more astounding success.

Landing on the second of March, the night of the twentieth he entered the Tuileries, borne in the arms of his soldiers, by the light of their torches. The night before, the Bourbon King, "who no longer had any defence except the tears of his servants," had departed for Belgium.

An amusing instance of the shifting winds of public opinion is to be found in the reports from day to day in the "Moniteur," the royal official organ of the Bourbons, of the progress of the Emperor:

5 March — The Corsican ogre has escaped from Elba and landed at Cannes.

7 March — The traitor and rebel has arrived at Grenoble.

11 March — Bonaparte has arrived at Lyon.

17 March — General Bonaparte is approaching Macon.

19 March — Napoleon has left Autun.

21 March — His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, arrived last evening at his Château of the Tuileries.

In the same way, Louis Napoleon, the nephew and heir of the Great Emperor, dreamed of being received with enthusiasm by the garrison of Strasbourg, greeted by the commanding officers as a restorer of the glories of the Army, and at once by the success of his plans the master of one of the strongest fortresses of the country. From there the news of his achievement would cross the Vosges and fly to the capital. Then would follow his victorious march to Paris, the flight of the Bourgeois King, and the restoration of the Empire.

The 25 October of the year 1836, the seventh of the reign of Louis Philippe, he left Baden in his carriage, and, following a roundabout route, arrived at Lahr, where he spent the night of the twenty-seventh. Then, returning on his traces, and traversing Fribourg and Colmar, the following night he reached Strasbourg, to sleep at No. 7 Rue de La Fontaine, the home of the lovely Eléonore Brault.

The conspirators had agreed upon their meeting-place under the walls of the ancient capital of Alsace. Their plans were all arranged. The attempt was to be made at daybreak the 30 October.

In the bottom of their trunks they had concealed new uniforms bearing the insignia of officers of high rank in the army — captains and even generals. Louis was also provided with the plaque of the grand cordon de la Légion d'honneur, which the Emperor had given him in his cradle.

The night of the 29 October there was a general meeting of the conspirators at a house in the Rue des Orphelins, where all were present. The decisive moment drew near. At the break of day the trumpet sounded in the Quartier d'Austerlitz, name of good omen! Already there was a great tumult in the streets. Soldiers passed, horsemen galloped, windows opened and closed. Louis Napoleon is notified that the Colonel is ready to receive him at the barracks. The Prince goes at once, accompanied by four officers in their new uniforms. The regiment is drawn up in battle array outside the gates. In front of the ranks, sword in hand, Colonel Vaudrey begins an address, which the half-awakened soldiers hardly understand.

He states that there has been a revolution, that the Empire and the Emperor have returned. Their duty is clearly traced out before them. Let all cry: "Vive Napoléon!" The soldiers look on in astonishment, and ask each other what it all means.

Then Louis Napoleon steps forward and addresses them. He says that he is determined to conquer or to die for the cause of the French people; that he wished to present himself first of all to the 4th Artillery, because it was the regiment in which his uncle had served as Captain, and which had opened to the Emperor the gates of Grenoble on his return from Elba. A few voices cried: "Vive l'Empereur," but there was no general enthusiasm.

From this moment events followed each other so rapidly that it is difficult to get a clear idea of what happened. The party proceeded to the next barracks, where, after a moment of hesitation, the commanding officers got the situation in hand. Colonel Vaudrey was arrested, and at once abandoned by his own men. The Prince was also conducted to the guard-house, where several of his comrades had preceded him. From here they were taken to the New Prison, where Louis was separated from the others. His imagination had conceived a very different ending for "La Grande Aventure," as it was called in the romance of Georges de la Bruyère, founded upon this historical episode.

In all human probability, the attempt at Strasbourg never could have succeeded except by a miracle, and then only for the time being. Napoleon had said "Du sublime au ridicule il n'y a qu'un pas." Louis had

attempted to attain the "sublime" — in his failure, all the world then thought that he had fallen to the depths of the "ridicule," from which he would never emerge.

While he regretted that his plans had failed, he was not discouraged. At least he had shown that the Bonaparte family was not dead, and that the ideas for which they stood still lived. While his family threw all the blame on him, and his uncles Joseph and Jérôme treated him as a visionary adventurer, he simply said: "Nous avons perdu la partie: c'est à recommencer."

His mother's anxiety on receipt of the news from Strasbourg was intense. Disregarding the law of proscription which forbade her family to enter France, as soon as the reports reached Arenenberg Hortense set out for Paris. Appealing once more to the memory of past favors which she had shown the family, she was able to obtain from Louis Philippe, if not an entire pardon, at least a very light punishment for her son. The conspirators had deserved a sentence of death, and had expected nothing less. The King accepted the representations of Hortense that this act of insurrection, this beginning of a civil war, was only a youthful indiscretion.

If Louis Napoleon met with disaster at Strasbourg, says Jerrold, it was not because his enterprise was a rash one. He had been carefully watching public opinion in France for six years; he had been in constant communication with many of the leading men of the country. On all sides it was agreed that

the existing government was weak; the popular discontent was profound and general. It is true that the reign of Louis Philippe lasted twelve years after the first attempt of Louis Napoleon, but these years were full of trouble. Success alone justifies such an enterprise, and it was generally condemned simply because it failed. It was the general impression at the time that had the garrison at Strasbourg been won over by the Prince, all the troops in the towns on the way to Paris would have joined him, and that his march would have been as triumphal as that of his uncle from Cannes.

The Prince remained a prisoner at Strasbourg until the ninth of November; then in charge of two officers he was brought to Paris, where he arrived early on the morning of the eleventh and was confined at the Prefecture of Police. Louis Philippe, in answer to the prayers of Hortense, had already decided to exile him from France, without the formality of a trial. Therefore, after a detention of only a few hours in Paris, he was hurried to the Fortress of Port Louis near Lorient. Here he remained until the 21 November, when he sailed for America on the frigate "Andromède," which had orders to make the voyage to the United States by way of Brazil.

At Lorient, just before embarking in the frigate which was to take him to America, there was placed in his hands, by order of the King, a purse containing 16,000 francs in gold, a gift of the monarch whom he had attempted to dethrone, who knew that his resources had been for the moment exhausted by the expenses of his conspiracy.

Orders had been given for the "Andromède" to go to New York by the way of Rio Janeiro, Louis Philippe having conceived the ingenious idea of giving his prisoner a sea voyage of four months in order to cool the fever of conspiracy. Treated as a prisoner of war during the voyage, he only recovered his liberty upon the soil of America.

Prince Louis arrived at Norfolk, Virginia, on the "Andromède" the 30 March 1837, after a voyage of over four months. In a letter to his mother from New York under date of the 17 April he describes his journey from Norfolk to New York:

"The second of April the captain and officers conducted me to the steamboat that conveyed me up Chesapeake Bay to Baltimore. We left at four o'clock in the afternoon. There were two hundred passengers on board. The cabin, a narrow room, about 160 feet in length, extends the entire length of the boat. Supper was served at seven. Half an hour later, the tables were taken away and beds were made for everybody. The women have cabins apart. About four in the morning, being very hot, I got up and went on deck to get some fresh air. We arrived at Baltimore at six o'clock in the morning, and started again immediately upon another boat. At the end of the bay we found a railway that conveyed us to the Delaware River, where we again took boat to Philadelphia. From Philadelphia to New York, we travelled in the same way, partly by railway and partly by boat. I passed before Point Breeze, the residence of my uncle (King Joseph, at Bordentown, New Jersey). It is a pretty little house on the banks of the Dela-

ware, but the surrounding country is flat. The only fine features are the width of the stream, and the steamboats which are magnificent."

In New York Prince Louis stopped at Washington Hall, a hotel built in 1810, which occupied about half the block on the east side of Broadway between Chambers and Reade Streets. The building was then one of the finest in the city. There were no club houses in New York at that early day, and the celebrated "Bread and Cheese Club" founded by James Fenimore Cooper in 1824 met there. One of the houses on the same block contained two stores about twelve feet wide, one of which was occupied by A. T. Stewart. In 1844, Stewart bought Washington Hall, and on the site, which was finally extended so as to include the entire block front, he erected a fine marble building for his store. When he moved up to Tenth Street in 1862, the store was turned into an office building. It is now owned by Frank A. Munsey and occupied by "The Sun and New York Herald."

The night of the Prince's arrival in New York, General James Watson Webb, the editor of the "Courier and Enquirer," which in 1861 was merged in the "World," was entertaining at dinner a distinguished party of friends, including General Winfield Scott, at the other leading hotel, the City Hotel, which was located on the west side of Broadway, just north of Trinity Church. Hearing of the presence of Louis Napoleon in the city, General Webb sent him an invitation to join the party, which he did. Nearly thirty years later, at Paris, General Webb

negotiated with the Emperor Napoleon the Third a secret treaty providing for the removal of the French troops from Mexico.

General Webb has described Louis Napoleon as a gentleman who was very quiet and reserved, who seemed to prefer the society of old men and ladies. He met only a few of the principal families of the city at that time, such as the Stewarts, the Clintons and the Livingstons. He also made the acquaintance of Chancellor Kent, and of Washington Irving, whom he visited at the "Roost." In New York, he also saw Pierre, the son of Lucien Bonaparte, and Achille and Lucien Murat, sons of Caroline Bonaparte and the King of Naples, who were also his cousins.

On arriving in New York, the Prince had found awaiting him his faithful friend Count Arèse and his old servant Charles Thélin. During the short period of two months which he passed in America, Louis spent his time in travelling, and in visiting the many new friends he made. His associations were almost exclusively confined to the oldest and best families. He also mixed occasionally in a small but refined French circle. Politics and government were a favorite topic of his conversation with the public men he met. It had been his intention to spend a year in making the tour of the United States, that he might have a better knowledge of our institutions and observe for himself the practical workings of our political system. But his plans were suddenly changed by the news of the serious illness of his mother, which cut short his stay. He had only time to visit Niagara

Falls, and to go over his Uncle Joseph's property on the Delaware. Joseph had returned to Europe five years before, and was then residing in London. The house, which is still known as the "Bonaparte Mansion," and the fine park of 200 acres surrounding it, were sold by King Joseph in 1849.

In these ways the time had passed rapidly on from April to June, when Louis received from his mother a letter dated the third of April, which had been delayed in transmission. On the outside, in the well-known hand of Doctor Conneau, were the words: "Venez! venez!" To the day of his death the Emperor carried a well-worn leather pocketbook, from which he never parted. It contained this last letter from his mother, stained and blurred from the salt-water of Boulogne, some letters of the Empress, and child-scrawls of his son, and a strange collection of pictures of Saints.

Without the knowledge of her son, Queen Hortense had been suffering for some time with a malady which was to cause her death the following year. When she visited France the last time for the purpose of securing his release, after the "Great Adventure," the few old friends who saw her were alarmed at the change in her appearance. The physicians whom she consulted declared that an operation was impossible and that there was no hope for her recovery. The first letter she received from Louis was dated the 14 January 1837 at Rio Janeiro.

The third of April, when Hortense expected to have an operation, she wrote Louis the following touching letter:

"Mon cher fils, on doit me faire une opération absolument nécessaire. Si elle ne réussit pas, je t'envoie par cette lettre ma bénédiction. Nous nous retrouverons, n'est-ce pas? dans un meilleur monde, où tu ne viendras me rejoindre que le plus tard possible, et tu penseras qu'en quittant celui-ci, je ne regrette que toi, que ta bonne tendresse, qui seule m'y a fait trouver quelque charme. Cela sera une consolation pour toi, mon cher ami, de penser que par tes soins tu as rendu ta mère heureuse autant qu'elle pouvait l'être. Tu penseras à toute ma tendresse pour toi, et tu auras du courage. Pense qu'on a toujours un œil bienveillant et clairvoyant sur ceux qu'on laisse ici-bas; mais, bien sûr, on se retrouve. Crois à cette douce idée! Elle est trop nécessaire pour qu'elle ne soit pas vraie. Ce bon Arèse, je lui donne aussi ma bénédiction comme à un fils. Je suis bien calme, bien résignée, et j'espère encore que nous nous reverrons dans ce monde-ci. Que la volonté de Dieu soit faite! Ta tendre mère, HORTENSE."

("I am about to undergo an operation that is absolutely necessary. In case it should not succeed, I send you my blessing. We shall meet again, shall we not? in a better world, where you will come to join me only as late as possible. And you will remember that in leaving this world I regret only you — only your gentle affection, that has given some charm to my life. It will be a consolation to you, my dear child, to know it was your care for her which made your mother as happy as it was possible for her to be. You will think of all my love for you, and take cour-

age. Believe that we always keep a kindly and searching eye on all we leave here below, and that certainly we meet again. Have faith in this consoling idea; it is too necessary not to be true. I give my blessing also to good Arèse as to a son. I press you to my heart, my dear one. I am quite calm and resigned, and hope we may meet again in this world. Let the will of God be done.

Your tender Mother, HORTENSE")

On receipt of this letter Louis decided to return immediately to Europe in the hope of seeing his mother before the end. He engaged passage upon the "George Washington," the first vessel leaving New York, and sailed the 12 June. A month later he advised his mother of his arrival at London, on the 10 July, and stated his intention of continuing his journey as soon as possible. Finding it impossible to obtain passports through France, he crossed to Holland, and reached Switzerland by way of the Rhine, arriving at Arenenberg the fifth of August. He found his mother very low, but she lived exactly two months, expiring on the fifth of October 1837 at the age of fifty-four.

In accordance with her desire, her remains were transported to France three months later, and the 8 January 1838 were placed in a vault of the church at Rueil where her mother was buried. The only member of either family who was present at the interment was Caroline, the widow of Murat, former King of Naples. Caroline, who died the 18 May the

following year, was the ablest and most ambitious of the sisters of the Emperor. About a year older than Hortense, with whom she was a fellow pupil at the celebrated school of Madame Campan, she was always jealous of Hortense and displayed her enmity on numerous occasions.

It was fortunate perhaps for Hortense on her death-bed that she could not see into the future. She could not foresee the future glory of her son, neither could she know of his misfortunes. She did not know that the Empire would be restored, nor did she know that France was to see a day more disastrous even than Waterloo.

Faithful to the memory of his mother, during the Second Empire, Napoleon the Third rebuilt the church at Rueil, in which he had already erected a beautiful monument in memory of Hortense, on the opposite side of the altar from the tomb which Hortense and Eugène had built for their mother, the Empress Josephine.

Among the grand avenues which spread out from the Arc de Triomphe at Paris, one was formerly called Joséphine, another the Avenue de la Reine-Hortense. In the middle of the first was a statue of the Empress. A new boulevard received the name of Prince Eugène, and had a statue of the former Vice-roi of Italy. He was represented standing, head bare, in the uniform of a general, a mantle thrown over his shoulders, his left hand resting on the hilt of his sabre, holding in his right hand a letter which he appeared to be crumpling — the letter in which he was offered the crown of Italy on condition of abandoning the cause

of the Emperor. One side of the monument was covered by the text of the noble reply which Eugène wrote to the Emperor Alexander the 20 April 1814:

"Ni la perspective du duché de Gênes, ni celle du royaume d'Italie, ne me porteraient à la trahison. J'aime mieux redevenir soldat que d'être souverain avili. L'Empereur, dites-vous, a eu des torts envers moi. Je les ai oubliés; je ne me souviens que de ses bienfaits. Je lui dois tout, mon rang, mes titres, ma fortune, et, ce que je préfère à tout cela, je lui dois ce que votre indulgence veut bien appeler ma gloire. Je le servirai tant qu'il vivra; ma personne est à lui, comme mon cœur. Puisse mon épée se briser entre mes mains, si elle était jamais infidèle à l'Empereur et à la France!"

Now all of these memorials have disappeared. The Avenue de la Reine-Hortense is the Avenue Hoche, and the Avenue Joséphine is named Marceau. The statue of Joséphine occupies a corner of the Museum of Versailles. The statue of Eugène has disappeared, and the boulevard which bore his name is now called Voltaire.

In his discourse when received as a member of the French Academy, Victor Cherbuliez said:

"It has been written that if we sometimes astonish the world by the excess of our self-confidence, we astonish it still more by our ingratitude towards our past."

Why should patriotism be iconoclastic? Why should France not take equal pride in the glories of the Empire and of the Republic? Why not hold in equal

respect, at Versailles, the statue of the "Roi Soleil" and of General Hoche, at Paris, the Column of July in the Place de la Bastille and the Column of Napoleon in the Place Vendôme? High above all the Governments which come and go, there is France which is eternal!

"Malheureux de ses maux et fier de ses victoires,
Je dépose à ses pieds ma joie ou mes douleurs:
J'ai des chants pour toutes ses gloires,
Des larmes pour tous ses malheurs."

CHAPTER SIX

1837–1840

THE AFFAIR OF BOULOGNE

Last Days at Arenenberg — Maxims and Will of Hortense — Departure from Switzerland — Residence in London — Preparations for Boulogne — The Napoleonic Propaganda — Departure of the Expedition — Landing in France — The Second Fiasco — Arrest of the Conspirators — Trial by the Chamber of Peers — Sentenced to Perpetual Imprisonment — The Remains of Napoleon Brought Home from Saint Helena

AFTER the death of his mother, in October 1837, Louis Napoleon passed several months very quietly at Arenenberg. He saw no one except a few old friends who paid him passing visits. He wrote his father that his only occupation was trying to put his mother's affairs in order. She had left many charges and obligations on her estate, and an old château only partially restored, which required considerable additional outlay to finish it. His door was not closed to a few faithful adherents who still clung to his cause. Among these were Colonel Vaudrey and Persigny, who had both been involved in the affair of Strasbourg. None of them had been discouraged by that failure, and all looked forward to a more opportune occasion.

When he wished to be alone, Louis retired to the separate pavillon where his mother had furnished

an apartment for him, every detail of which recalled her thoughtful and loving care. Here he read and reread her maxims, which constituted a kind of political testament:

Your title is of recent date; to make it respected, you must prove yourself capable of being useful.

The rôle of the Bonapartes is to pose as friends of everybody; they are the mediators, the concilliators.

Welcome everybody, repulse nobody, even the curious, the man with an object to gain, the man who offers advice. They all help.

Never be tired of claiming that the Emperor was infallible, and that he had a valid national motive for all his acts.

Do not fail to assert at all times that he rendered France powerful and prosperous, and that each one of his conquests brought to Europe institutions which will never be regretted.

People end by believing that which is repeated often enough: one always obtains that which is demanded continuously and in every form.

In discussions in France, he always gets the best of the argument who cites history; nobody studies it and everybody believes it.

Watch the horizon. There is neither comedy nor drama, which, unrolling before your eyes, may not furnish some motive for interfering, like a *deus ex machina.*

The will of Hortense, dated 3 April 1837, the same day that she wrote her last letter to Louis at New York, ends as follows:

"It is my wish that my husband give a thought to my memory, and that he know that my greatest regret has been that I could not make him happy.

"I have no political counsels to give to my son. I know that he understands his position and all the duties which his name imposes upon him.

"I pardon all the sovereigns, with whom I have had relations of friendship, the lightness of their judgment upon me.

"I pardon some Frenchmen, to whom I was able to be of service, the calumny which they have had heaped upon me in order to clear themselves; I pardon those who have believed without inquiry, and I hope not to be entirely forgotten by my dear fellow-countrymen.

"I thank all the members of my household, including my servants, for their good care of me, and I hope that they will not forget my memory."

Queen Hortense left seven or eight compact volumes of "Memoirs," in the writing of which she was probably assisted by Monsieur Mocquard, afterwards Private Secretary of the Emperor. They were intended for the reading of her own family, and never, in their entirety, for publication. They are full of indiscretions, and hasty verdicts on her contemporaries. Many of the intimate descriptions of Napoleon are admirable, and show the finer side of his character. Although she depicts her husband as a gloomy tyrant, she at the same time always shows respect for him.

She acknowledges that she had not been a good wife to him, and makes no attempt to deny her frailties. She endeavors, and not without some measure of success, to bewitch the reader, rather than to appeal to his judgment. The Mémoirs are typical of her life in which the good overbears and almost hides the bad.

There was no indication of any intention on Louis's part of leaving his quiet retreat where he was living amid the tender memories of the past, when it became known that he had suddenly left Switzerland to go and take up his residence in London. A number of serious incidents had hastened his departure. The French Government had reminded him that it had only tolerated his presence in Switzerland in order that he might be with his mother during her last days, and that he was now taking advantage of an excuse which had ceased to be valid. From diplomatic notes to the Helvetian Government, recourse was had to direct menaces, and an army of 20,000 men was massed upon the Swiss frontier.

The last day of January 1838, Prince Louis had taken up his residence in the old Gothic Château of Gottlieben, which his mother had left him, and which he had completely restored. It was situated on the arm of the Rhine which connects the Unter See with the Lake of Constance. It had been the prison of John Huss, Jerome of Prague and Pope John. The following day the Duc de Montebello, the son of Marshal Lannes, appeared at Lucerne to demand of the Swiss Government that the nephew and heir of the Emperor should be expelled from the country.

With a strong sentiment of hospitality, mingled with national pride, the Swiss refused to yield to this movement directed against an honorary citizen of the Republic. But Louis preferred to save his generous hosts from any trouble on his account, and voluntarily left the country. After selling his horses and carriages by auction at Arenenberg, on Sunday 14 October, Prince Louis set out for England. He descended the Rhine to Rotterdam, where he embarked for England the 23 October 1838. This was only another instance of the short-sighted policy of Louis Philippe and his ministers. For his plans, London was a much more convenient place of residence than his mother's château in a distant and obscure canton of Switzerland.

For the second time the great asylum of England opened its doors to him. On his arrival at London, he was accompanied by a suite of seven persons, including Persigny, and Colonel Vaudrey, of Strasbourg memory. After a short stay at Fenton's Hotel, he leased until December 1839 the house of Lord Cardigan, in Carlton Terrace, between Saint James's and Regent Streets in one of the best parts of the West End. At the expiration of this term he removed to the house of Lord Ripon in Carlton Gardens. There were seventeen persons employed in his household and he had five horses in his stable, including two saddle horses.

Many reasons had led Prince Louis to fix on London as his place of residence. He had many warm friends there, who had been kind to him at the time of his first visit after the Italian insurrection, and again on

his return from America. In England he would have absolute freedom of action, to go and come as he pleased. He would be near his uncle Joseph, and in the midst of a number of his countrymen. He was nearer Paris than at Arenenberg, and in a place better situated for his plans. He had passed from a small château in a distant and obscure corner of Switzerland to one of the great capitals of Europe, where he was an object of interest from his historic name, and where he was constantly in the public eye. The folly of the French Government had transformed the ridiculous conspirator of Strasbourg into an interesting and powerful pretender. His movements were chronicled day by day in the fashionable newspapers. When he rode or drove out a crowd surrounded his hotel. In his round of sight-seeing he was received with royal honors; at the Bank of England, the Governor escorted him, and the directors gave him a breakfast. He was elected honorary member of the most fashionable clubs. He become in short the lion of the season.

Taking umbrage at this reception of Prince Louis, the French Government now gave him additional importance by another diplomatic blunder. They requested the English Government to compel Prince Louis Napoleon to reside away from London, in a fixed abode. Lord Melbourne of course replied that there was no law under which the right of asylum could be restricted. Nothing remained for the French Government but the use of spies, and a close watch was kept upon all the Prince's movements.

He had brought from the Château of Arenenberg

a number of articles with which to embellish his private rooms. Among these were a painting of Josephine and Hortense; some medallions of the family; and some historical souvenirs, such as the tricolored scarf worn by General Bonaparte at the Battle of the Pyramids, his coronation ring, the orders, plaques and cross worn by the Emperor, and the so-called "Talisman of Charlemagne," taken from the famous tomb at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The history of the "Talisman" is very interesting. When Napoleon visited Aix-la-Chapelle in 1804, the tomb of Charlemagne was opened and there was found hung around his neck the Talisman which had brought him success. It was a piece of the real cross, encased in an emerald, which was hung to a thick gold ring by a slender chain. It was presented to the Emperor by the city authorities, and, at Austerlitz and Wagram, he wore it on his breast, as Charlemagne used to do nine centuries before. In 1813 he gave it to Hortense. This relic was in the chamber of Napoleon the Third when he died, and was later in the bed-room of the Prince Imperial at Chislehurst. A short time before her death in 1920, the Empress Eugénie presented the Talisman to the *trésor* of the great Cathedral of Reims, which was so seriously imperilled by the German bombardment during the Great War.

The Prince was no sooner settled in Carlton House than invitations began to pour in upon him from the few members of the leading English families who were in town during this dull part of the London season.

Brilliant receptions were given in his honor by Lord Holland, the Duchess of Bedford, and Lord Grey. The Duchess of Somerset gave a grand dinner to Prince Louis Napoleon. The great Duke of Wellington showed him marked attention. "Would you believe it," he wrote at this time, "this young man Louis Napoleon will not have it said that he is not going to be Emperor of the French!"

At London he frequented particularly the salon of Lady Blessington at Gore House. Here he met the most brilliant society of the day. He had first met her at Rome in March 1828 during one of his visits there with his mother.

At Brodick Castle in Scotland, he passed several days with the son of the Duke of Hamilton, who had married his cousin Marie, daughter of the Grand Duchess Stéphanie of Baden. We shall meet her later at the Tuileries during the Second Empire. The Duke of Newcastle, who met him in Scotland, wrote Sir Archibald Alison, the celebrated author of "The History of Europe" as follows:

"Prince Louis Napoleon and I often went out to shoot together, but neither of us being very keen for the sport, we preferred to sit down in the heather and discuss serious subjects. He always opened the conversation by speaking of what he hoped to do when he wore the crown, and I am convinced that this thought never left him for a single moment."

He could only confide his plans to a very small number of persons, for fear of not being understood, or of being considered visionary. He was so reticent in general society that he was generally known as

"Prince Taciturn." He was more expansive than elsewhere in the salon of Lady Blessington, who was in full sympathy with his romantic ideas.

During the London seasons of 1839 and 1840 Prince Louis ostensibly led the life of a man of fashion. But behind the scenes he thought and worked and schemed, in daily preparation for the future which he was sure lay before him.

The author of "Les Idées Napoléoniennes," which he published in 1839, was assuredly a thoughtful, serious, and earnest-minded person. "'Les Idées,'" wrote Mr. Jerrold, "are the brightest and fullest expression of the mind of Prince Louis Napoleon. His political life is this work in action. It is the text-book of his policy, the code of his personal laws . . . the Napoleonic idea amplified and carried forward for the government of society by a second Napoleon.

"The 'Idées Napoléoniennes' appeared when the ground for them had been prepared by Louis Philippe's Government. Prince Louis chose his time well. The minds of the French people were filled with the glory of Napoleon; and the Government of July, having no prestige of its own, fed the popular appetite. The Arch of Triumph under which the King passed daily to Neuilly was a sculptured record of Imperial glory. The Vendôme Column held the Little Corporal aloft, to be seen by all Paris; and his old grenadiers came again and again to deposit immortelles at his feet."

A copy of the first edition was presented by the Prince to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who wrote under the inscription on the title page: "The book

of a very able mind . . . Prince Louis Napoleon has qualities that may render him a remarkable man if he ever returns to France. . . . He can conceive with secrecy and act with promptitude. His faults would come from conceit and rashness; but akin with these characteristics are will and enthusiasm. He has these in a high degree. Above all, he has that intense faith in his own destiny, *with* which men rarely fail of achieving something great, *without* which all talent lacks the *mens divinior.*"

This estimate of Louis Napoleon was remarkable in its prophetic vision.

With only a small band of supporters, with very little ready money, without personal authority, the Prince was still set on his idea of overthrowing the existing Government of France, and restoring the Imperial régime. He explained his plans to Joseph Orsi, a merchant of Florence and the banker of the Bonaparte family, who was then in London. Orsi finally agreed to take charge of the details of the enterprise. At first he had been in favor of putting off the attempt until a more opportune moment, but he was over-persuaded by the confidence of the Prince, who believed that the time had come.

Since 1838, the Napoleonic propaganda had made enormous progress. It was carried on zealously in many newspapers and clubs. The diplomatic humiliation of France in the affair of Mehemet Ali, with the outburst of patriotism which accompanied it, and the concessions of the Government to public opinion which followed, such for instance as the bringing back of the ashes of Napoleon from Saint Helena,

all helped to revive Revolutionary and Imperial memories.

For two years Louis Napoleon had been almost continually in the public eye. With the funds realized from the sale of a part of his property at Arenenberg, he had subsidized a journal called the "Capitole." The political Review which he published monthly continued to harass the Government of Louis Philippe. His plans for a new attempt were not unknown at the Tuileries, and preparations had been made and orders given, in anticipation of an insurrection. Police agents had been sent to London to report upon the movements of the Prince and his partisans. The coming expedition, the date of its departure, and the place of landing in France, were all matters of common gossip in London. The secrecy so necessary to the success of such an undertaking was decidedly lacking. How did it happen that the project was so well known?

The 21 June Prince Louis called on Orsi and insisted that no more time should be lost in beginning the preparations for the departure of the expedition. Orsi, in the face of this determination, raised no further objections. He suggested that a steamer should be chartered for the ostensible purpose of a pleasure cruise. This was easily arranged, and the first step of the perilous adventure had been taken. The fourth of August the expedition was ready to sail. Horses, guns and military equipment of every kind were on board the "Edinburgh Castle," which had been chartered for the month of August. Louis Napoleon was the last to arrive, having been delayed by the

active surveillance of the French police agents in London. It was found necessary on account of this delay to postpone the landing in France until the sixth of August.

The petty port of Wimereux, about two and a half miles north of Boulogne, had been selected as the point of landing. Boulogne had been chosen for the attempt because it was easy of access, and the garrison was weak, and also supposed to be friendly. Including the Prince, the expeditionary force consisted of fifty-six persons, more than half of whom were servants.

In the first hour of the morning of the sixth of August 1840, the coast guards on duty near the old sand-choked port of Wimereux, constructed by Napoleon at the time of his projected invasion of England, made out through the darkness a small steamer standing off and on about a mile from the shore. About an hour later a small boat was lowered and filled with men. It approached the shore and grounded about thirty yards from the beach. The boat was hailed by the guards, and the answer was received that it was a party of the 40th of the Line on their way from Dunkerque to Cherbourg. The men, all in uniform, waded ashore, and the boat went back for another load. In three trips all the party were landed from the steamer.

The expedition, after making prisoners of the coast guards, immediately set out for Boulogne along the heights past the Napoleon column. They marched on without interruption until they reached the guard-house on the Place d'Alton. From this point on the

narrative is very confused, and it is not now easy to say exactly what happened. The soldiers seem to have refused to join them, and the party went on until they reached the barracks in the lower town. It was five o'clock in the morning when they arrived here. Again the soldiers, under orders of their officers, refused to join them, and the expedition went on its way to the upper town. Arrived at the ramparts, they found the gates already closed against them. Apparently discouraged by the coolness of their reception, the march now turned back towards the column on the heights. Here Louis Napoleon, who was in a state of great nervous excitement, refused to retreat further, and was carried by main force to the boat. An attempt was made to regain the steamer. At a short distance from the shore, they were fired upon and one man was killed and one wounded, and in the confusion the boat was upset. The Prince and the rest of the party then swam towards the steamer, which they succeeded in reaching, only to find it in possession of the authorities. The prisoners were landed at the Pidou jetty, and by nine o'clock the Prince and his companions were locked up in the prison of the Vieux-Château. A more complete fiasco could not be imagined. It was far worse than the affair of Strasbourg. There for a short time there appeared to be every chance of success. At Boulogne, if the soldiers seemed friendly, the officers were hostile, and military discipline prevailed.

Speculation now upon the hopes and promises of the Boulogne expedition would be futile. The Prince kept his own counsel, and his first care was to shield

all who had put themselves in peril. It is evidence of the strict sense of honor which prevailed among his friends that the Government was never able to obtain the least clue to the ramifications of the plot of which the affair of Boulogne was the ridiculous outcome.

Louis Philippe and his ministers claimed to have been much amused over this "ludicrous affair." But, as the French say: "Rira bien qui rira le dernier." The laugh was on the other side eight years later when the Bourgeois King crossed the Channel to England as "Mr. Smith," while Louis Napoleon went to Paris, to the Assembly, the Presidency and the Empire.

From Boulogne, the Prince was conducted first to the Château of Ham, and then transferred to Paris where he was confined at the Prefecture of Police. With his principal accomplices, he was arraigned before the Chamber of Peers, sitting as a High Court of Justice. The trial began the 28 September, and on the sixth of October all were found guilty. Louis Napoleon was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress of France, and the others received sentences of from two to twenty years.

To defray the expenses of the Boulogne expedition, before leaving London the Prince had disposed of nearly all his remaining securities. The eve of the departure, Orsi had placed in his hands the sum of twenty thousand pounds, in gold and bank notes. Part of his funds were lost in the sea during the attempt to escape, but the authorities took from Louis at the time of his arrest the sum of 160,000 francs,

all of which was subsequently returned to him by the Government.

Before leaving Paris the 6 October for the prison of Ham, the Prince arranged his affairs so that all the persons to whom his mother had left annuities as charges on her estate should receive the capital sum in place of the income. All of his remaining property was sold, and every claim satisfied. He entered Ham as "poor as Job." Accompanied by the venerable General Montholon he was put in a carriage the evening of the sixth and under charge of a colonel of the municipal guard was escorted to Ham where he arrived at midnight on the seventh. By a curious coincidence, it was the same day that the "Belle Poule," the vessel sent to bring back the remains of the Great Emperor, arrived in sight of the island of Saint Helena.

While the body of Napoleon lay in the lonely grave at Saint Helena his spirit had conquered Europe anew. The peoples who had overthrown his Empire soon found that they had exchanged a brilliant for a stupid despotism. The more they saw of the little hereditary tyrants who had supplanted him, the more they regretted the great despot. The pledges of liberty which they had received were ruthlessly broken. The "Holy Alliance" really became a league against popular rights and liberty throughout the continent.

In his will Napoleon had said: "Je désire que mes cendres reposent sur les bords de la Seine au milieu de ce peuple Français que j'ai tant aimé." That the body of the Emperor should be rescued from alien

soil and rest by the Seine became the great desire of the French nation. As a concession to popular opinion the Government of Louis Philippe decided to bring back the ashes of Napoleon in accordance with his desire. England having given her consent, the King sent his son the Prince de Joinville to escort the Emperor home. In his party were two of Napoleon's faithful companions in exile, General Bertrand and General Gourgaud; Marchand, his valet, and several of the old servants at Longwood. With them also was the son of Las Cases, who was now in manhood to revisit the sombre scenes of his childhood days. Still another was the son of Bertrand, who had been born at Saint Helena.

They found that Longwood had reverted to its former use as a stable, but the grave of Napoleon was still carefully guarded by a British soldier. When the coffin was opened, those who had thought to find "Imperious Cæsar, dead and turned to clay," were astonished to see the Emperor so life-like, lying as if in slumber, his body clothed in the familiar green uniform of the Chasseurs de la Garde, with the cross of the Légion d'honneur gleaming upon his breast with undiminished lustre.

The 15 December 1840, when his nephew and heir was just beginning his term of life-imprisonment at Ham, Paris opened wide its gates to receive the remains of the Great Emperor, as if he were a victorious general returning from a glorious campaign. Mounted upon a stately funeral car, escorted by aged veterans of the Vieille Garde, followed by the white steed, "Marengo," which he had ridden at Waterloo, the

body was borne in triumph to its last resting place under the gilded dome of the Invalides. The King and the whole royal family awaited the arrival of the heroic dead. Amidst the general hush of expectation, a chamberlain entered, and dramatically announced: "L'Empereur!"

The Prince de Joinville delivered the coffin to the King, who received it "in the name of France." At last the ashes of the Great Emperor reposed upon the banks of the Seine in the midst of the French people whom he had loved so well.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1840–1846

PRISONER OF STATE

The Château of Ham — Life in Prison — Literary Pastimes — A Prison Romance — The Crazy Duke of Brunswick — The Escape from Ham — Second Residence in London — The Affair with Miss Howard — The Princesse Marie de Bade — Death of King Louis

HAM, where Louis Napoleon was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, is a little town of about three thousand inhabitants, in the Department of the Somme, seventy miles north of Paris. It is on the short route from London to Switzerland followed by the trains which run direct from Calais to Bâle by way of Amiens and Reims without passing by Paris.

The Château after having successfully resisted the assaults of the English, the Spaniards and the Austrians, was totally destroyed by the Germans during the Great War.

The fortress was constructed by the Comte de Saint-Pol, Constable of France, in the 15th century, during the reign of Louis the Eleventh. The approach from the town was through an avenue shaded by arching trees. From a distance the Château had quite a picturesque aspect, with the red and gray towers, and the battlements, which gave an impression of age and strength. The central feature of the fortress

was the great tower, a hundred feet high, with walls thirty feet thick.

After traversing the second drawbridge and entering the central courtyard, the visitor saw on the right a range of low two-storied buildings. There Prince Louis Napoleon was confined. The same suite had previously been occupied, after the Revolution of July 1830, by the Prince de Polignac, the Prime Minister of Charles the Tenth, and later, in 1851, was to be the home of Cavaignac and other opponents of the Prince-President. It was a gloomy and malarious place, surrounded by damp walls with mounds without and the river circling around. Ham is suitated in the midst of a low, marshy country, and the sun is frequently obscured by the mists, and low-hanging clouds.

The entrance to the Prince's apartment was through a narrow door into a white-washed corridor. On the right on entering was the suite of General Montholon, consisting of a sitting-room with bed-room beyond. Opposite were the bath-room and chapel. At the end of the corridor was the guard-room. Mounting a short flight of stairs, the visitor reached the second story corridor, where the rooms of the Prince were located. His apartment consisted of two square, white-washed rooms, with brick floors, the sitting-room on the left, overlooking the courtyard, and the bed-room opposite. The furniture was of plain black-walnut. Opening from this same corridor were the rooms of Doctor Conneau, of Charles Thélin, the Prince's valet, and the dining-room.

The only exit from the building was through the

CHATEAU OF HAM

guard-room on the first floor, by a door into the courtyard, which was always kept locked. When the prisoners took their daily exercise on the ramparts they had to pass through this guard-room and traverse a narrow walk, at the end of which was another barrier and a second guard-room. Sentinels were posted on the ramparts, and on the opposite bank of the river below, to prevent communication with the prisoners. The broad walk on the ramparts was only about fifty paces in length. Four hundred soldiers within, and a vigilant police force without, carefully guarded the fortress. Escape seemed impossible.

Along the inner slope of the mound, the Prince laid out his little garden. After a time he was allowed to take exercise on horseback around the limited space of the inner courtyard.

The studious habits of Louis, which he had formed in early childhood, and which he never abandoned even in the Palace of the Tuileries, now stood him in good stead. He was fortunate enough to have infinite resources in himself. A complaint never issued from his lips. With unbroken spirit and undisturbed faith in his destiny, he proceeded to occupy himself with literary work and scientific investigation. In his sitting-room he built himself bookcases, and he turned his corridor into an experimenting ground for projectiles. A spare room was fitted up for a laboratory, where he spent many days in scientific investigations with the aid of a local chemist.

The Prince, who was always an early riser, was at his work by seven o'clock, and was busy until eleven, when déjeuner was served from the canteen. He then

went out for his regular walk on the ramparts or for his horseback exercise in the court. Then he returned to his study or his laboratory where he occupied himself until five, when dinner was served. After dinner he conversed with Montholon and Conneau, and later the three prisoners, with their chief custodian, Captain Demarle, made up a party of whist.

There was no break in this monotonous round of life, except when he received an occasional visit from some outside friend like Madame Cornu, the Hortense Lacroix of his boyhood days, a filleule of Queen Hortense, who at Arenenberg had been brought up with him almost like a foster-sister. She was now married and living in Paris, and was of great assistance to him in his literary work. She looked up references for him in the libraries, read and corrected his proofs, and constantly cheered him up with her bright and affectionate letters. Hortense was the literary adviser as well as the assistant of the Prince, and scores of letters which he wrote her during his imprisonment show the deep appreciation and gratitude which he felt for her invaluable services.

Another constant friend and visitor was Vieillard, his former tutor at Arenenberg and Augsburg. Vieillard, who was a Deputy under Louis Philippe, and who mingled much in political circles, was his life-long friend and adviser. He never took part in any of the Prince's plots or plans, and never hesitated to disagree with him when he did not approve of his schemes.

The amount of literary work which Prince Louis accomplished during the six years of his imprisonment was very creditable, and especially so when

we consider the disadvantageous circumstances under which it was produced. His principal publications were:

"Historical Fragments, 1688–1830"; "Manual of Artillery"; "Extinction of Pauperism"; "Old History Always New," and "The Nicaragua Canal."

The "Historical Fragments" was published during the first year of his confinement. In drawing together 1688 and 1830, his idea was that these two great revolutions were divergent in their causes and their results. For England, 1688 was the beginning of an era of prosperity and greatness; for France, 1830 was the commencement of an epoch of troubles, of which no one could foresee the end. The "Fragments" fill only 133 loosely printed pages. One of the striking phrases was: "There has never been, among free nations, a government strong enough to suppress for a long time liberty at home without glory abroad." This was to be the key-note of his policy when Emperor of the French, and was to lead him into many unprofitable and disastrous enterprises.

In May 1843, he was hard at work on the new edition of his "Manual of Artillery," which finally developed into practically a new work, and occupied much of his time for the next two years. During this period his letters to Hortense Cornu are full of requests for different works on the subject, in Italian and German, as well as in French. At the same time he put forth his papers on the reform of the Army. He gave an outline of the Prussian system, and recommended its adoption by France. It was a democratic system adapted to the manners and feelings of the

French. It would produce an army of a million and a half of men — not for conquest, but for the security of his country's independence. His plan was almost identical with that now in existence. In 1868, the Emperor submitted it to the Council of State, but it was not adopted, unfortunately for France.

"The Extinction of Pauperism" was written in March and April 1844, in the midst of his work on the "Manual of Artillery." His solution of the problem was the localization of the poor over the waste lands of France, and he was led to the idea, no doubt, by Napoleon's project for assigning to his Old Guard the unclaimed wastes of the Landes, a sandy region in the southwest of France. His propositions inflamed the popular imagination and attracted much favorable attention.

In an article entitled "Old History Always New," published in August 1844, he reviewed the feeble foreign expeditions undertaken by the July Monarchy, which he claimed had lowered the prestige of France. His argument was illustrated by the following amusing anecdote:

"On a summer day the Emperor Napoleon, having risen earlier than usual, crossed one of the great salons of the Tuileries. To his surprise, he found a child occupied in making an immense fire on one of the hearths. The Emperor asked the boy why he was kindling such a fire in mid-summer, and he answered frankly, 'I am making ashes for my father, they are his perquisite.'"

Exactly in the same manner, the Prince argued, the French Government for fourteen years had been

burning the national fire-wood to obtain their perquisite. If the acts of the Government since 1830 were passed in review, the numerous foreign expeditions were just so many useless fires. The country got the smoke, and the Government the ashes — which they sold by weight!

The pamphlet on the "Nicaragua Canal" was the last fruit of his imprisonment at Ham. This project of a ship canal to join the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans was long under consideration, and was never definitely abandoned until the United States adopted the Panama route and undertook the completion of the canal begun by Lesseps. Many engineers still think that a sea-level canal at Nicaragua would have been better than the lock-canal actually constructed at Panama. But it would be futile now to rehearse the old arguments. The interest which the Prince took in this matter, and the profound study which he gave to the problem, undoubtedly influenced him later in his grandiose scheme for a Latin Empire in Mexico.

The year after his escape from Ham, Prince Louis endeavored to form a large corporation in London for the purpose of carrying out his scheme, but political events in France soon drew his attention away from the project. In after years he often reverted to it, and if he never realized his own dream, his studies led him to espouse the Suez Canal project warmly when presented to him by Monsieur de Lesseps.

The course of reading and writing which Louis pursued during the five years of his imprisonment developed his intellect, and made of him a scholarly

man, one of the best-informed of his time. In after years he often spoke laughingly of his education at the "University of Ham." His activities included not only historical studies and scientific investigations, but also comments upon passing political events in the outside world. But back of all this, there still stands out, in all that he says and does, the Man of Destiny, who has never lost sight of his ultimate goal: the one idea is ever with him. Through the shadows of the present, his eye is always fixed upon the star of Napoleon, which is to guide him to the heights of Imperialism.

At the time the Prince reached Ham, the quarters in which he was confined were in a complete state of delapidation — roof, floors, windows, doors were all out of order. The building was low-lying and the fortress was surrounded by malarious marshes. Owing to these unfavorable conditions, and the lack of sufficient exercise, the health of Louis finally broke down, and was never the same in after-life. He entered Ham a strong, vigorous man of thirty-two; he left it five years later, thin and pale and sickly-looking. His term of imprisonment undoubtedly shortened his life by many years.

The name of Napoleon had often been associated with that of Charlemagne, and ten centuries apart the histories of the two Empires had often been compared. The Great Emperor had always expressed much admiration for the character and achievements of his celebrated predecessor on the throne of France. At Milan, as King of Italy, he had placed on his head the Iron Crown of Charlemagne, and he had worn his

Talisman on his breast on the fields of two of his greatest victories. It therefore seemed appropriate to Louis Napoleon that he should become the historian of his illustrious uncle's only prototype. Among those whom he consulted on the subject was the eminent historian Sismondi, whom he had met at Geneva during one of his mother's winter visits. The reply was cordial but not very encouraging. Sismondi pointed out the great difficulties of the task, and ended with the words: "You see, Prince, that if the splendor of conquest has led men to compare Napoleon with Charlemagne, I feel that it is in this only there is relation between them, and that the influence of these two great men on the times which succeeded them was absolutely different."

It was with some difficulty that Louis was finally persuaded to abandon his project. It shared the fate of the first plan of Napoleon for the Vendôme Column at Paris, which was to have been similar in design to that of Trajan at Rome, and crowned with a bronze statue of Charlemagne. As finally erected the column bore on its summit a bronze statue of the Emperor in the toga of a Roman Senator. During the period of the Restoration this statue was replaced by a colossal fleur de lis, the emblem of the Bourbons. In 1833, Louis Philippe had placed upon the column a statue of the Emperor clothed in the traditional great-coat and hat, which is now in the Invalides, having been replaced in 1863, by Napoleon the Third, with very poor taste, by a reproduction of the original statue.

At Ham, except that he did not breathe the air of liberty, the Prince had little cause to complain of his

treatment by the authorities. All the books which he asked for were furnished him. He was permitted to correspond with public men, with savants, with littérateurs. Many persons were permitted to visit him, to cheer up his solitude, and among the number was a young woman, who brought him the offering of her love. Her name was Eléonore Vergeot. From this liaison, which lasted during the term of his imprisonment, were born two sons, Eugène and Louis. The mother was afterwards married, and died in poverty in Paris forty years later.

Among those who wished to bring to him the evidence of their sympathy were two Spanish ladies, of whom the younger was to play an important part in his life in after years. Endowed with a vivid and romantic imagination, she had been much impressed by the stories of the two adventures of the Prince which had had such unfortunate results. In her eyes, he was the Man of Destiny, suffering for his convictions. She proposed to her mother a visit to the Château of Ham. Madame de Montijo did not oppose her daughter's request, but for some unknown reason the visit never was made, and Eugénie never met her future consort until he was first magistrate of France.

Among the many visitors to the Château was Lord Malmesbury, whom Louis had first met as a young man of twenty-one at Rome, and whom he had seen frequently during his residence in London. A few years later Malmesbury had a very cordial interview with the Prince-President at Paris, during the course of which the latter asked him if he remembered his visit to Ham, and continued: "I told you then that

one day I would govern France, and you thought me crazy, like all the rest."

Another caller, who was announced under the name of Smith, was later to prove of great service to the Prince at the time of his escape. He was the private secretary of Sir Thomas Duncombe, a Member of Parliament, and he came on behalf of his employer to propose a treaty of alliance between the Prince and the Duke of Brunswick, who had been expelled from his country in 1830 and was then living in London. All visitors to Geneva will remember the magnificent mausoleum erected by that city to the memory of this Prince, who on his death at Geneva in 1873 left his entire fortune of twenty million francs to the city.

Louis Napoleon, who was now making plans for his escape, was in urgent need of funds for this purpose. It will be recollected that on entering the prison he had divested himself of what little property remained to him, in favor of his mother's pensionnaires. Now, taking advantage of the Duke's proposition, he sent Joseph Orsi to see him in London. The story of Orsi's visit reads like one of Poe's weird tales. In the court of Brunswick House, attached to the wall by chains, were two enormous mastiffs which guarded the stairway. Through gloomy corridors he was conducted into a vast hall which was furnished only with a table, two chairs and a lighted candle. After a wait of nearly an hour, Orsi was about to leave in disgust, when a portière was drawn aside and to his wondering eyes there appeared the master of the mansion dressed in a monachal robe of black satin,

with a hood covering his head to the eyes. In spite of this remarkable reception Orsi found courage to explain the object of his visit. At first the Duke absolutely refused his assistance, but at the end of a long interview, the eloquence of Orsi won him over. The Duke was converted, and promised to advance the desired funds.

Duncombe, by chance, had made the acquaintance, at London, of this half-crazy Duke of Brunswick, who in 1830 had been overthrown by his subjects for his disregard of the constitution, and on account of his extravagance and love of pleasure. He had found refuge in England and was laying plans to recover his dominions. By another fortunate chance, Duncombe had also been thrown into relations with Morny and Walewski, who were respectively the half-brother of Louis Napoleon and the son of the Great Emperor by the beautiful Comtesse Walewska. Both were to be very prominent during the Second Empire. Duncombe had conceived the chimerical idea of an alliance of interest by which the rich Duke should furnish the needy Prince with funds for his escape from prison and for another attempt to reëstablish the Empire. In return for this assistance the Emperor Napoleon was to replace the Duke upon the throne of Brunswick. Such was the remarkable plan laid before the prisoner of Ham by Smith. It is said that a formal treaty was drawn up, approved and signed by the high contracting parties, but no trace of it could be found in after-years. Needless to say that it was impossible for Napoleon at a later date to carry out his part of this remarkable scheme. But for the mo-

ment he was ready to agree to almost any plan which would give him a chance to be once more a free man.

In the meantime the Prince continued to take his usual exercise, to receive visitors, and to occupy himself with his literary and scientific work. For five years now there had been no break in the monotony of his prison life, and the Government of Louis Philippe began to think there would no longer be any risk in relaxing somewhat their rigorous surveillance of this apparently inoffensive dreamer. They even went so far as to intimate to Louis that the only thing which stood between him and his freedom was a formal request on his part to be set at liberty. There was nothing dishonorable on his part in making such a request, but from fear that impossible conditions would be attached to this act of clemency, he absolutely refused to make the demand. His historical reply was: "I will not leave Ham except to go to the cemetery or the Tuileries."

As already stated, during the last year his health had begun to decline, although his mental activity was as great as ever. He felt that the time had come for a change of air. As he had refused to make a formal demand for his liberty, there only remained one outcome of the situation: escape, and this was by no means easy.

The general arrangement of his rooms and the topography of the Château have already been described. His apartment, at the end of the interior court, was inclosed by thick walls. The entrance was through a guard-room, the door of which was always locked, and two sentinels were always on duty there.

The commandant of the prison was also ordered to visit his prisoner three times a day. The fortress had a garrison of four hundred men, of whom sixty were on guard all the time. From these details, the difficulty of any plan of escape is very apparent.

The Prince, after much reflection, hit upon a very original scheme. To begin with, he did as much damage as possible to his rooms, which were already in a bad state of repair. Then he asked for an inspection, and requested that his quarters should be put in good order. If his request was granted, this would mean the employment of a number of workmen, who would come and go every day, and whose faces would not be familiar to the sentinels on guard. This, he calculated, would furnish him an opportunity for escape.

The circumstances and incidents of this famous escape have often been told and are quite well known. With infinite patience the Prince waited until the twenty-fourth and last day of the work of reparation, that the guards might become used to the coming and going of the laborers. Then, disguised as a mason, his face spotted with mortar, a plank on his shoulder, he calmly walked past the sentinels on duty, tipping the plank so as to conceal his face when he met one who knew him well. At a short distance from the outer walls his valet Thélin awaited him with a carriage, in which he succeeded in reaching the Belgian frontier a few hours later.

To this narrative of the escape may be added a few interesting details to fill out the sketch. Doctor Conneau says:

"On the 25 May, we rose early at six o'clock. The Prince put on his workman's disguise, consisting of a coarse shirt, a blue blouse, and a pair of blue trousers, with an apron, and a pair of sabots over his boots. As his face was naturally pale, he colored it with some dye, which gave him a ruddy complexion. He also painted his eyebrows and put on a black wig, which completely covered his ears. Shortly after seven, he shaved off his thick whiskers and moustaches, and I declare I should not have recognized the Prince, well as I know his person. As soon as all was ready Thélin invited the workmen to have something to drink, and when the Prince knew they were all engaged he went down stairs."

The Prince, in a letter dated from London a few days after his arrival, thus continues the narrative:

"Once beyond the walls, I walked rapidly towards the road to Saint-Quentin. Shortly after, Charles, who the evening before had engaged a cabriolet for himself, joined me, and we arrived at Saint-Quentin. I crossed the town on foot, after having got rid of my blouse. Charles having procured a post-chaise under pretence of a drive to Cambrai, we arrived without hindrance at Valenciennes, from whence I took the rail-road."

In the meantime, his friend Doctor Conneau had been successful in putting off the regular visit of the commandant, upon the plea that the Prince was ill and sleeping quietly and must not be disturbed. Upon his next visit, the officer approached the bed, and found under the covers a manikin in place of the Prince. An alarm was at once sent out, but Louis was

already far on his way, and in those days there was no telegraph to call into play, to intercept the fugitive.

The next day all the French and English journals announced: "Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has escaped from Ham." The day following his friend Hortense Cornu received this letter dated from London: "It is not necessary for me to relate my escape; the papers will give you sufficient details. My plans were so well laid that in less than eight hours I was in Belgium, and twelve hours later in London. It seems like a dream."

The first appearance of Louis Napoleon in London after his escape was very dramatic. It was the night of the 26 May 1846, and a large party was being given at Gore House, the residence of Lady Blessington, when he suddenly made his appearance. No one had heard of his arrival in the city. He was again well received by his old friends, and he made up for his five years of seclusion by a furious pursuit of pleasure.

It was at this time that he first made the acquaintance of the celebrated Miss Howard, whom he met one morning when riding in Hyde Park. She was a very beautiful girl, of rather humble origin. Her father had been a riding-master, and was now the proprietor of a fashionable academy much frequented by the jeunesse dorée of the day. His daughter, who was a superb horse-woman, gave riding lessons, and soon had a large circle of ardent admirers. She was very fond of jewels, and in a short time had a magnificent collection, presented by her adorers. It was not long before she became the *amie intime* of the Prince, who was very devoted to her. Like the Comtesse Walewska

with his uncle the First Napoleon, she seems to have been the one great love of his life.

At this same time there was much talk of a marriage between the Prince and a young and charming English girl, Miss Emmy Bowles. By a very curious coincidence she was then living with her brother-in-law at Camden Place, Chislehurst, which a quarter of a century later was to be the residence of the Emperor after Sedan, and the place of his death. The project was given up when Miss Bowles heard of the liaison between the Prince and Miss Howard.

Two years later, when Louis Napoleon was in urgent need of funds for the expenses of his presidential campaign in France, Miss Howard sold or pawned all of her magnificent collection of jewels and gave him the money. Later, he repaid all of these loans and gave her a very handsome allowance, besides the title of Comtesse de Beauregard. His attachment for her was so great that at the time of his marriage to Eugénie, many of his friends thought that he would never succeed in breaking his "English chains"; and he had great difficulty in pacifying the lovely English woman to whom he was so greatly indebted. The secret police were so afraid that she might escape their surveillance and make a public scandal at Notre Dame that they constrained her to leave Paris before the day of the Imperial wedding.

During his second residence in London, Louis was a frequent guest of his cousin the Princesse Marie, daughter of Charles, Grand Duke of Baden, and Stéphanie de Beauharnais, a cousin of Queen Hortense. She was the wife of the eldest son of the Duke

of Hamilton, who became the eleventh duke of that name on the death of his father in 1852. The title of Duc de Châtellerault, granted to his remote ancestor, in 1548, was conferred on her son the twelfth Duke of Hamilton by the Emperor Napoleon in 1864.

His cousin Marie, who was much attached to him, did everything she could to dissuade Louis from any more fool-hardy adventures. His reply was: "Marie, I do not belong to myself; I belong to my name and my country. Though fortune has twice betrayed me, yet my destiny will none the less surely be fulfilled. I wait." He was not to wait much longer.

The last year of the Prince's imprisonment at Ham, when the news reached him of the mortal illness of his father, the former King of Holland, he demanded permission from the French Government to visit his dying parent in Italy. Although he offered to give his word of honor that he would return to Ham, as soon as the visit was accomplished, his request was refused. One of the principal reasons which he gave for his escape was the desire to see once more his father whose end was approaching. As soon as he arrived in London he lost no time in calling upon his most influential friends to aid him in obtaining a *sauf-conduit* to go to Florence. The Austrian Ambassador absolutely refused to grant him the necessary passports. Louis Napoleon therefore did not have the consolation of being present during the last moments of King Louis, who finally passed away from an attack of apoplexy the 25 July 1846, two months after his son's arrival in London.

PRESIDENT LOUIS NAPOLEON

CHAPTER EIGHT

1846–1848

REVOLUTION OF 1848

Awaiting the Call of Destiny — Government of Louis Philippe — The Mehemet Ali Affair — Ministry of Guizot — The February Revolution — Flight of the King — The Provisional Government — The June Riots — Louis Napoleon at Paris — Elected to the Assembly — A Crucial Moment — The New Constitution — Candidate for the Presidency — Triumphant Election — Inaugurated as President of the Republic

ON his arrival in London, the 26 May 1846, after his escape from Ham, Louis Napoleon went to the Brunswick Hotel in Jermyn Street, where he registered as the Comte d'Arenenberg, taking the title of his mother's château in Switzerland. On the following day, he wrote a very affectionate letter to his father at Florence, briefly telling of his escape, and announcing his intention of joining him as soon as possible.

Some months later he leased, at a rental of three hundred pounds a year, a new house at No. 10 King Street, near Saint James's Square. The house now bears another number, and has on the front wall a plaque commemorating the residence there of the Prince Louis Napoleon from 1846 to 1848. It is a narrow, four-story mansion, with an entrance up two steps from the level of the sidewalk.

Early in February 1847, he wrote his old friend and tutor Monsieur Vieillard regarding his new residence: "For two weeks now I have been settled in my new house, and I am delighted once more to have a home, for the first time in seven years. I have brought together all my books and family portraits; in short all the precious objects which escaped from the wreck."

Here he lived very quietly, while awaiting the "Call of Destiny." For several months after his escape, he was in very bad health, and he occupied himself only with his literary and scientific studies. He took part in no plots or schemes, and made no plans for the future.

As soon as his health was better, he appeared again in society, where he was quite as well received as during his former residence in London before the Boulogne fiasco. Every morning he rode in Rotten Row, and in the afternoon was seen driving in Hyde Park. In the evening he went to the theatre or opera, or dropped in at one of his clubs for a quiet game of whist, which he had learned to play at Ham. In brief, he led the life of a man-about-town.

The stories about his being very short of money at this time have no foundation of fact. It is true that the fortune of several million francs received from his mother's estate had been nearly all spent at the time of the Boulogne attempt, and that the balance had been divided among the old servants of Hortense when he entered Ham. But under the will of King Louis, who died just two months after his escape, he received all of his father's property, consisting of a palace at Florence, an estate at Civita Nuova, and

over three million francs in good securities. His father also left him all of his decorations, his heirlooms, and many precious souvenirs of the Emperor. Upon the estate of Civita Nuova alone he afterwards borrowed the sum of 325,000 francs. For that time, even for a Prince, he could hardly be called a poor man. Besides his own very comfortable bachelor establishment, he also maintained a very handsome home for the beautiful Miss Howard.

As for the Prince himself, his personal tastes were always very simple, and he had ample means for all his own requirements. But he was continually surrounded by a crowd of partisans who made large demands upon his purse. To give just one instance: After the release of Doctor Conneau, who had been a fellow-prisoner at Ham, and had materially aided his escape, he urged the doctor to come to London, and bought for him a practice, for which he paid nine hundred pounds. It was to meet the large expenses of his political propaganda, and the constant demands of his friends and hangers-on, that he was obliged to borrow large sums of the Barings and Rothschilds and other leading banking-houses. This was undoubtedly the basis of the current gossip about his being short of funds.

For some time past Louis Napoleon had been closely watching political events in France. The Government of Louis Philippe which had long been in difficulties, was now "with its back to the wall" fighting for its very existence. During the first ten years of the July Monarchy, although there had been ten different ministries, there had been a fairly

continuous policy, as all had worked to sustain the Government, put down its enemies, and keep peace with foreign countries. When this result had finally been accomplished, there came a break in the Government due to the rivalry of two men, Thiers and Guizot, each of whom desired the leading place. Out of this rivalry there arose two separate parties, each with its theory of the constitution. The Left Centre, under Thiers, held that the King reigns but does not govern, or in other words, the English theory of government by responsible ministers. The Right Centre, under Guizot, on the other hand, said: "The throne is not an empty chair," and maintained that the King was not bound to follow strictly the opinions of the majority.

Louis Philippe, for his part, had no idea of being an ornamental figure-head; he wished to govern as well as reign. He insisted on conducting foreign affairs himself, and meddled continually in internal matters. As soon as his government seemed firmly established, he began to reveal his real purpose of being King in fact as well as in theory. Taking advantage of the party division, in 1836, the King forced Thiers to resign, but was compelled to recall him three years later. The chief feature of the second brief ministry of Thiers was its foreign policy. A few years prior to this date, a powerful vassal of the Sultan, named Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, had revolted, and after conquering all of Syria, had pushed on into Asia Minor, and even threatened Constantinople itself. The Sultan, thoroughly frightened, appealed for aid, and Russia and England came to his assist-

ance, while Prussia and Austria took the same side, all actuated by different motives.

France, which had never ceased to be interested in Egypt, since the time of Napoleon's expedition, and which had officered and trained the Egyptian army, took the other side, and supported Mehemet Ali. But she stood alone, and her complete isolation was shown in 1840 when the Great Powers met in London, and, ignoring France, pledged themselves to take measures to bring the rebel to terms. Thiers urged a vigorous warlike policy, but the King, fearing that he might involve France and his monarchy in grave danger, refused to support him, and Guizot became chief minister, and remained in power until 1848. This diplomatic humiliation of France caused an outburst of popular wrath, which led to the bringing back of the ashes of Napoleon from Saint Helena and other measures taken to conciliate public opinion. This was what Louis Napoleon meant when he said, at the time, that they ought to restore Napoleon's ideas as well as his remains to France.

Guizot, who was eminent both as an historian and an orator, was a man of strong and rigid mind, of unchangeable principles. A King with the ideas and tendencies of Louis Philippe could not have had a more dangerous adviser. The Government was scrupulous in its adherence to parliamentary forms, and by a clever manipulation of voters always managed to have a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The forms of the constitution were maintained but its spirit was nullified.

Opposition to this system was inevitable, and was

the main feature of domestic politics in France from 1840 to 1848, when Louis Philippe and Guizot and the entire régime were violently overthrown. Through fear of shedding the blood of his people, when he could easily have got the situation in hand, the King abdicated and fled to England.

The Revolution of 1848 in France came like a bolt from the blue. It was absolutely unpremeditated, entirely unexpected, and perfectly successful. In three days it was all over. On the morning of the 24 February there was no thought of a Republic; by sunset the Second French Republic had been proclaimed. Nominally it lasted nearly five years, from the 24 February 1848 to the 2 December 1852, when the Second Empire was proclaimed. Practically, however, it came to an end with the coup d'état of the second of December 1851.

The Provisional Government, chosen 24 February, remained in power about ten weeks, and was then succeeded by the National Assembly which framed the Constitution of the Republic, and governed the country until the election of the President and Legislative Assembly the tenth of December of the same year.

The Provisional Government was obliged to maintain itself by force of arms. The last of June there was an insurrection of the Commune in Paris. General Cavaignac, who was made military dictator, finally put down the insurgents after four days of the most fearful street fighting that Paris had ever known. Ten thousand men were killed or wounded, and as many more made prisoners, and immediately de-

ported. The anxiety for the future was so great that the powers of the dictator were continued for four months, until the end of October. One of the unfortunate results of this insurrection was that it led to the ultimate overthrow of the Republic. All classes were united in demanding a government of law and order. One-man power seemed to be the only salvation of the country.

The first information which Louis Napoleon had of the Revolution of 1848 was on the afternoon of the 25 February. As he was returning to his home in King Street he heard the loud cries of the newsboys selling the "extras" which announced that the King had been dethroned and a Republic proclaimed in France. The Call of Destiny had come at last!

The Prince lost no time. Without any escort, equipped only with a small travelling bag, he took the first train for Folkestone. A few hours later he trod once more the sands of Boulogne, which had once threatened to swallow up his fortunes. At the same hour Louis Philippe thanked God that he was safe on English soil. What a strange turn of Fortune's wheel!

By another remarkable coincidence, Louis Napoleon had crossed the Channel on the return trip of the same boat which had brought over to England the Duc de Nemours, the son of Louis Philippe; and the next day in the train to Paris, Louis found himself seated opposite two friends of the Duc who had escorted him to the coast. They were so astonished to see the former prisoner of Ham en route for Paris that they could hardly believe their eyes.

As soon as Lamartine and the members of the Provisional Government learned of the presence of the Prince in Paris, they strongly advised him to return to England. His surprise was so great that for the first time in his life he seemed to feel really discouraged.

At the April elections not a voice was raised in favor of the name of Bonaparte. But his patience and resignation were soon rewarded. At the June elections, without having presented himself as a candidate, he was chosen as Deputy from four Departments.

Once more the Prince packed his bag and set out for Paris. On his arrival, he went to live quietly at the Hôtel du Rhin, in the Place Vendôme, from the windows of which he could see towering about the capital the figure of the Great Emperor whose genius had been the guiding star of his life. Here he played his cards very adroitly. He avoided publicity, kept himself carefully in the background, affected timidity and indecision. He did not make his first appearance in the Assembly until the end of September, and then very modestly. He took an inconspicuous seat next to his old professor Vieillard. In presenting a paper two days later he created rather an unfavorable impression by his marked German accent, which he never entirely overcame. From the age of seven, his boyhood and early manhood had been passed either in a German-speaking canton of Switzerland or at school in Bavaria, and it was not strange that he had acquired a German accent.

On the ninth of October there was to be a vote upon an amendment declaring members of the

former imperial and royal families of France ineligible as candidates for the presidency of the Republic. This was perhaps the crucial moment of his entire career. He entered after the debate had begun, as though not particularly interested, and then listened in complete silence. When he finally arose to speak some of the members called for a vote, without hearing him. The member who occupied the tribune, however, yielded his place to his "honorable colleague, Louis Napoleon." Instantly there was complete silence; every one expected from his mouth a grave, solemn statement of his position. He pronounced a few rambling words, without any particular significance, and then descended from the tribune amidst a general laugh of derision. The most eloquent and carefully prepared address could not have better served his purpose. He cut such a sorry figure that Thouret contemptuously withdrew the amendment by which he had intended to bar Louis Napoleon from the presidency.

Under the new constitution the President of the Republic was to be elected for four years and to be ineligible for reëlection until after a four years' interval. The executive was given very considerable powers, which was felt to be safe in view of the shortness of his term and the fact that he could not be elected for two consecutive terms.

This being settled, the next important matter to be decided was as to the method of choosing the President. After a long debate, it was voted by a large majority that the chief executive should be elected by universal suffrage. This was very favorable

to the plans of Louis Napoleon, as the French electorate, from its lack of political experience, would probably be influenced more by the glamour of some famous name, than guided by an intelligent analysis of the character and fitness of the candidates for the high office.

At the time of the Revolution of February 1848 the only surviving brother of Napoleon was King Jérôme, the youngest of the family. Joseph had died at Florence in July 1844, and Louis at Leghorn two years later. Jérôme had forfeited all claims to be considered a leader in the Bonaparte cause. In December 1847, he had solicited, and obtained, permission from Louis Philippe to reside three months in France; and among the papers found unsigned in the King's cabinet at the Tuileries after his flight was the grant of a peerage with a pension of 100,000 francs to the former King of Westphalia. Under the favor of the Orleans Monarchy, Jérôme and his son Napoleon were actually living in Paris when the Revolution broke out. The only member of the Bonaparte family who was worthy of being the successor of the Great Emperor was the pale and thoughtful student of the "University of Ham," who had done and suffered so much for the cause.

At this time, Prince Louis Napoleon was practically unknown to the great mass of his fellow-countrymen, while with those who were better informed, the failure of his attempts at Strasbourg and Boulogne had not served to enhance his reputation. But so quickly did events move and opinions change during this remarkable year of 1848, that by the time a deci-

sion had been reached regarding the method of electing the President, he was generally known to be a leading candidate for the position. His name was one to conjure with. It was his only capital, but it was sufficient. With universal suffrage, the peasants formed the great majority of the voters, and there was not one to whom the magic name of Napoleon was unknown. Their fathers had fought with the Great Emperor at Austerlitz and Jena, they had carried the glorious eagles of France to Vienna and Berlin, why should they not vote for his nephew and heir?

But he also had much strength with the middle classes, the bourgeoisie. Louis Napoleon by his professions and his family name seemed to stand for law and order, and for the rights of property, always so dear to the French. Again, for many years a series of brilliant writers had been portraying in history and in poetry the wonders of the Napoleonic era, and a new legend had grown up, fair, thrilling and altogether captivating.

The only formidable competitor of the Prince was General Cavaignac, who had governed Paris as military dictator for several months, and was generally unpopular, especially with the working class, by whom he was detested for the sanguinary manner in which he had put down the June insurrection.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the success of Louis Napoleon as a presidential candidate was due both to his strength and his supposed weakness. His name, and the principles of government for which he stood, appealed to the friends of tranquillity and public

order. To the republicans and royalists, on the other hand, he was satisfactory on account of his supposed feebleness of character and lack of spirit and energy. The former thought they could easily dominate him, the latter that they could replace him, when the opportune moment arrived, by a prince of the royal house. So all factions united in paving the way for his election.

For these reasons, when the election was held in December 1848, Prince Louis Napoleon was chosen President by an overwhelming majority, receiving 5,400,000 votes to 1,500,000 for Cavaignac, his nearest competitor.

When Louis Napoleon entered the crowded Assembly chamber, on the 20 December 1848, all eyes were turned upon him. Monsieur Marrast arose from the Presidential chair and announced that Citizen Louis Bonaparte, having obtained an absolute majority of votes, was proclaimed by the National Assembly as President of the French Republic, from that day until the second Sunday of May 1852, and he was invited to ascend the tribune and take the oath of office, which was as follows: "In the presence of God and before the French people, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic Republic, and to defend the Constitution." The Prince raised his right hand and said, "I swear."

The occasion is thus described by Jerrold: "Then for the first time appeared in an official scene the figure that was destined to become familiar to France and to Europe: a thoughtful, pale face, overcast with such sadness as years of care set upon a man's aspect;

the broad brow, lightly covered with fair hair; the blue eyes, veiled, but flashing at intervals; a slight figure, slow in movement and dignified in carriage."

The Prince was in evening dress, and wore the rosette of Deputy, and the grand cross of the Légion d'honneur on his breast. The scene closed with the departure of the Prince-President to the Elysée Palace, which had been assigned as his official residence. By some oversight, not a room had been prepared for his reception. The new occupant of the Elysée had to be content for the first night with a bed, a table and a chair. Fortunately the former prisoner of State was a man of simple habits.

It was just a third of a century since the last visit of Prince Louis to the Elysée on that memorable evening in June 1815, when just prior to his departure for the fatal campaign of Waterloo, the Emperor had embraced him for the last time, and had made to Marshal Soult the prophetic remark: "He is perhaps the hope of my race."

CHAPTER NINE

1848–1852

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The Elysée Palace — The Prince Plans a Coup d'Etat — Strength of the Monarchial Party — The June Insurrection — Franchise Law of 1850 — The President and the Assembly — Removal of General Changarnier — The Coup d'Etat — The Second of December — The Two Following Days — Verdict of the Nation — The New Constitution — Old Debts Paid — Last Year of the Republic — The Plébescite — The Empire Proclaimed

THE Palais de l'Elysée, the official residence of the Prince-President during the Second Republic, is situated to the north, or right, of the Champs-Elysées as you ascend this magnificent avenue towards the Arc de Triomphe. It is very rarely noticed by the casual visitor to Paris, as the building itself is entirely screened in summer by the heavy foliage of the large park on the side of the Avenue Gabriel which runs parallel to the Champs-Elysées.

The Palace, which was built in 1718, during the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, was inhabited, until her death, by the notorious Madame de Pompadour. After this it was the residence, till her emigration in 1790, of the Duchesse de Bourbon-Condé, from which fact it became known as the Elysée-Bourbon. Confiscated during the Revolution, it was sold in 1803 to Murat, who occupied it as Governor of Paris during the

early years of the Empire, until he was made King of Naples by Napoleon in 1808. It was then purchased by the Emperor, who occupied it for several weeks in the spring of 1815 prior to his departure for the campaign of Waterloo in June. Here he returned for a few days after the battle, and here he signed his final abdication.

After the Second Restoration, this palace of many changes passed into the hands of the son of Charles the Tenth, the Duc de Berry, who lived there until his murder in 1820. It was then occupied for a short time by his son the Duc de Bordeaux, born seven months after his father's death. He was better known later as the Comte de Chambord. Two years after the Franco-Prussian war he might have become King of France under the title of Henri Cinq but for his refusal to adopt the tricolor of the Revolution and the Empire in place of the white flag of the monarchy. On his death in 1883, the elder branch of the Bourbon family became extinct.

During the Second Republic the property was again confiscated, and the palace was the official residence of Louis Napoleon until he went to the Tuileries at the time of the proclamation of the Empire. Under the Third Republic it has once more become the residence of the President.

Louis Napoleon had not been installed in the Elysée six weeks before he began to think of a coup d'état. The last of January 1849 he approached on the subject Changarnier, the most popular of his generals. But he had no sooner broached the matter than he saw that the general was not inclined to be

sympathetic, and he adroitly changed the conversation, and maintained his sphinx-like silence until three years later, when he carried out his plans without the assistance of Changarnier. But with his usual patience and perseverance, and tenacity of purpose, he kept this project constantly in mind. To keep silent called for no effort on his part: it was second-nature. With slow steps he pursued his quiet way towards the ultimate goal, always carefully watching and taking advantage of every shift in the changing winds of public opinion. In the meantime he had no idea of showing his hand before the opportune moment arrived.

Twenty years before, Louis Philippe, just before mounting the throne of Charles the Tenth, wrote the exiled monarch that he had been constrained by force of circumstances, and that if he were offered a title, to which he had not aspired, His Majesty could rest assured that he would not exercise any kind of power except temporarily and in the sole interest of the exiled House.

So the Prince-President, before assuming the title of Emperor, declared over and over again: "Je ne suis pas un ambitieux." Never, never would he raise a sacrilegious hand against the Republic, the object of his sacred affection!

In his hopes he was greatly encouraged by the evident dread of the red spectre by the great mass of the French nation. Having had so little experience with republican institutions, the majority of the population could only recall in this connection the excesses of the Revolution. They looked to the Prince

NAPOLEON III

as the symbol of law and order, the only barrier between the nation and anarchy.

At the first election of the Legislative Assembly, in May 1849, out of 750 members, there were returned about 70 moderate Republicans, about 180 Socialists, and about 500 Monarchists, who were nearly all adherents either of the Bourbon or Orleans family, only a few being favorable to the Bonapartes. Thus in the first legislature elected under the new Constitution, only seventy were sincerely attached to the new form of government. The explanation of this remarkable result lies in the fact that the June riots had not yet been forgotten, and the mass of the French nation believed that the Republic was dangerous to law and order. Both the President and the Assembly therefore were enemies of the Constitution which they had sworn to protect. This anomalous situation could not long endure.

The three years that elapsed between the inauguration of the President and the coup d'état of December 1851, which virtually ushered in the Empire, although it was not proclaimed until a year later, can be passed over briefly, as they were not a period of legislative or social reform, but of adroit maneuvers for party advantages without regard for the interests of France.

At first the President and the monarchial majority coöperated against the Republican party, which each felt to be the real enemy. The Opposition soon presented the Government with an opportunity of which it was not slow in taking advantage. In June 1849 an insurrection broke out which was easily put down.

Following up its victory, the Government arrested 33 Members of the Opposition and deprived them of their seats, and also suppressed their journals. Public meetings were forbidden for a year. Paris was put under martial law, a measure which greatly increased the power of the President.

In 1850 the Assembly enacted a new Franchise Law, which deprived over three million men of the right to vote, and practically abolished universal suffrage. By this measure over one third of the electorate were deprived of the suffrage, and they naturally were very bitter against the Assembly. Another law was passed, restricting the freedom of the press, which resulted in wiping out of existence most of the cheap papers of the Republicans and Socialists, who could not meet the requirements.

The common enemy having been overcome, war now broke out between the President and the monarchial majority in the Assembly. The most bitter fight was over the revision of the Constitution. Louis Napoleon, who had no idea of retiring to private life at the end of his four-year term, demanded that this clause be stricken out. When the Assembly refused, he turned the tables on his opponents by demanding the repeal of the act limiting the suffrage, thus posing as the guardian of the Constitution. He thus gained the good-will of the three million voters who had been disfranchised, and made sure of their support in any attack which he might make on the Assembly.

Balked of his ambition of remaining in power by peaceful means, the Prince-President now planned

and carried out with extraordinary precision and success a remarkable coup d'état. For its success, secrecy was the absolute prerequisite, and never was secrecy better maintained. Possessing the power of appointment to civil and military positions, his first step was to remove General Changarnier from the command of the Army of Paris.

The excitement in the Chamber was intense. The man whom they had despised and derided when he first appeared as a Deputy in their midst, whom they had thought to control, and to twist and turn at their pleasure, had suddenly displayed the power and decision of a master-mind. Changarnier exchanged his headquarters in the Tuileries for the modest apartment which he leased in a small furnished hôtel of the Rue Saint-Honoré. Paris was quiet, and securities went up on the Bourse.

The struggle between the two opposing forces continued throughout the year 1851. The Prince-President continually gained friends and supporters. Desirous of strengthening his hold on the people he made a triumphant tour of the provinces. The field of operations was now ready, it only remained to choose the men who by their character and their assurance would carry his plans to a triumphal finish.

The decision that the hour for action had come was not reached until he was convinced by Morny, Persigny and Saint-Arnaud that he could no longer temporise, unless he wished himself to go to Vincennes instead of his enemies. It is not surprising that he preferred the route to the Tuileries.

The chief reliance of Louis Napoleon in planning

and carrying out the coup d'état was his old friend and accomplice in the affairs of Strasbourg and Boulogne, Persigny, who was assisted by two men who proved of inestimable value in the enterprise. Although the names of Fleury and Véron were then comparatively unknown, they both contributed powerfully to the elevation of the Prince-President to the Imperial throne.

At the time, Fleury held a position of importance in the Ministry of War. It was he who selected the regiments to be successively quartered in Paris, and sent them back to the provinces thoroughly won over to the idea that the Imperial form of government was the best hope both for France and the Army. It was Fleury also who designated the officers for promotion, and who won the adhesion of Saint-Arnaud and Magnon. The success of Fleury proved that he was a skilful diplomatist as well as a valiant soldier. In 1848, however, Colonel Emile Fleury was known only as a brilliant, dashing officer, with a splendid record for personal valor. It was Persigny who detected in him the sterling qualities necessary for his purpose.

Almost without exception, the men who carried through the coup d'état had given proofs of their courage on the field of battle. Persigny knew all about Saint-Arnaud and probably suggested his name to Fleury. Like Persigny himself, Saint-Arnaud had had rather a checkered career. Although member of a good family, he had been a soldier, and then in turn a commercial traveller, an actor and a fencing-master, before he again entered the army.

Doctor Véron was at that time the proprietor of the "Constitutionnel," which in the opinion of Lamartine was the ablest journal of the Republic, and he was the sole arbiter of its policy. He was also the Director of the Opéra, which he had raised to a pitch of prosperity such as it never reached before. All this, however, did not satisfy his ambition: his one desire was to become a factor in politics.

Another man of mark who rallied to the Prince-President at this time was the Comte de Morny, a former adherent of the Orleans dynasty, who had become convinced that the star of Napoleon was again in the ascendant. As a young man, Morny had shown great aptitude for commercial enterprises, but he was first of all a man of fashion and of pleasure. A courtier and a man of affairs, a dandy and a sportsman, this son of Hortense, with the powerful backing of his reputed grandfather, the great Talleyrand, had become a favorite in society and a power in the political world. "Like all men who have had many love affairs," Emile Ollivier remarks of him, "he had no tenderness; in its stead he had grace, an easy wit, tact, cordiality, a seductive charm. There was no pose in his manner, no surliness, but a captivating spontaneity. He was always affable, and although busy never appeared to be in a hurry. It was impossible to approach him without feeling attracted at first, and then moved by sympathy." The figure of Morny is familiar to the general reader in the Duc de Mora of "Le Nabab" of Alphonse Daudet, who had been one of his secretaries.

Morny had in short the qualities and defects of the

society in which he had been brought up, in the salon of the brilliant Madame de Souza, the mother of Comte de Flahaut. A brilliant cavalry officer, he had won the cross by his valor on the field of battle. At the age of thirty he was at the head of the beet-sugar industry of France, and a Deputy. In the Chamber he distinguished himself by his knowledge of financial matters.

Once attached to the cause of the Prince-President, he became, and remained for the rest of his life, one of his ablest assistants and counsellors. He was his representative in the many conferences which took place while the plans for the coup d'état were being matured. The coming event cast its shadows before. Saint-Arnaud was made Minister of War, and General Magnan was put in command of the Army of Paris, thus putting the military power of the capital completely under the control of the Prince-President. Through the new Prefect of Police, Maupas, this powerful organization was also in the hands of the Prince.

On the first of December the opposition party in the Assembly were cheerful in the belief that the day of their triumph was near at hand, and the Orleanists were looking forward to a Third Restoration. Prince de Joinville had crossed the Channel to join his brother the Duc d'Aumale, who was to take the command of the troops at Lille, who were supposed to be well-affected towards the Royal party.

At the Elysée, the day passed quietly. The Prince-President went over his correspondence with his secretary, Mocquard, gave interviews to his Minis-

ters, and saw his friends as usual. In the evening he gave a dinner, which was followed by his regular Monday evening reception. Morny rode in the Bois in the morning, appeared later at the Jockey Club, and in the evening sauntered from box to box at the Opéra Comique.

During the day, the final plans were arranged, the military by Fleury and Saint-Arnaud, the political by Morny and the Prince. The reception at the Elysée in the evening was crowded as usual. At eight o'clock, the Prince withdrew for a moment, to give some directions to his secretary, who was docketing the papers relative to the coming event. Upon the package, Louis Napoleon wrote in pencil, "Rubicon." An hour later he paid his secretary a second visit, and carefully corrected the proofs of the proclamations, which in a few hours were to be posted on the walls of Paris. At ten o'clock, as usual, he finally withdrew to his private apartment. As he reëntered his cabinet he said with a laugh to Monsieur Mocquard: "There is general talk in the rooms to-night of an imminent coup d'état, but it is not *ours:* the National Assembly is going to send *me* to Vincennes in a *panier à salade,*" — the French name for the "Black Maria."

With a key attached to his watch-chain, Prince Louis opened a secret drawer in his desk, and withdrew three sealed packets which contained the final secret instructions. These he placed upon the Roman mosaic table upon which the Emperor had signed his second abdication. Then Persigny arrived, followed by Maupas, Morny and Saint-Arnaud. After a short conference, the meeting broke up and the Prince re-

tired to his room for the night. Morny went to the Jockey Club for a rubber of whist, as he had no further part to play until the next morning. Saint-Arnaud, as Minister of War, gave his final orders to Magnan, the commander of the Army of Paris, who was bound to obey him, and in this instance did so with a will.

When Maupas, the new Prefect of Police, left the Elysée at eleven o'clock, he took with him in his carriage Colonel de Béville, to whom had been entrusted the proclamations to be printed. The Colonel was to pass the night at the Imprimerie Nationale, to watch the printing, so that the news should not get out, and well he performed his task. Sentinels were placed at every window and door, and no one was allowed to leave the establishment until the printing was done. At the appointed hour, the proclamations were ready, and Paris awoke to find them posted on all the walls of the capital.

The success or failure of the coup d'état rested primarily with Maupas. If one of his arrests had failed, the alarm would have been given, and the success of the carefully laid plans put in jeopardy. But the new Prefect was an experienced policeman, and there was not a single mistake made. Before morning the State prisoners were all safely escorted to the prison of Mazas. Within an hour all the public men, seventy-eight in number, who could have opposed the plans of the Prince, had been arrested in their beds, and put under lock and key.

Such in brief is the story of the preliminaries of the coup d'état, as told by Jerrold, in his voluminous

"Life of Napoleon III." While the account differs in some respects from the generally accepted version, and is undoubtedly colored by his sympathies, it is probably in the main reliable.

The historical day, the second of December 1851, began with a great movement of troops. At ten o'clock in the morning the Prince-President descended from his apartment in the Elysée, and appeared in the Court of Honor. The cuirassiers of the guard drew their sabres and cried: "Vive l'Empereur!" It was a little premature, and they were ordered to moderate their zeal. Louis Napoleon and his brilliant suite of forty general officers, with their plumed hats, and uniforms covered with gold braid, immediately mounted, and the cavalcade set out for a promenade through the streets of Paris. The party turns to the right in the direction of the Rue Royale and the Place de la Concorde. The President rides alone at the head. A little behind at his right is King Jérôme, and at the left, General Saint-Arnaud, the Minister of War. All the way to the Place de la Concorde the streets are lined with regiments of infantry. The sidewalks are crowded with spectators, who look on in curiosity and surprise.

Louis Napoleon, riding ahead, on his superb English mount, shows in his set face neither pride nor joy.

In the Place de la Concorde there were general cries of: "Vive l'Empereur!" and other voices added: "Aux Tuileries." The gates of the Garden were open, and the Prince entered and took the route to the Palace. But old King Jérôme, prudent for once in his

life, whispered in his ear: "Louis, you are going too fast. Better not enter the Château yet." The Prince turned and went back.

The cavalcade then crossed the Place de la Concorde, traversed the Pont-Royal, and reached the Place of the Palais-Bourbon, the seat of the Legislative Chamber. The President had now finished his course, and the party returned to the Elysée by way of the Pont de la Concorde.

This demonstration was only the preliminary of the real drama which was to follow. That evening the Prince suffered from the same attack of nerves which had affected Napoleon the 18 Brumaire, when his brother Lucien came to his aid. Morny and Persigny advised him to go to bed and sleep off his nervous headache and leave the direction of affairs to them.

He shut himself up in one of the salons of the Elysée, where the Emperor had retired to sign his abdication. At the last moment he hesitated to follow the road to power and glory upon which he had entered and thought only of his oath to preserve the Constitution. But it was too late now to turn back. The cavalry was already charging the crowds and clearing the boulevards.

One can never be sure of the final outcome of a political coup de main until all is over. On the second December all chances favored the Bonaparte enterprise. The day was the anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor Napoleon in 1804, and of his most brilliant victory, Austerlitz, the following year. During the early morning hours many arrests had been made of leading republicans and monarchists. Plac-

ards were pasted on all the walls of Paris announcing the dissolution of the Assembly and the reëstablishment of universal suffrage, and suggesting a change in the Constitution by which the President should hold office for ten years. The people were called upon to approve or disapprove these suggestions. What would be the popular verdict?

During this eventful day, there had been no excitement in Paris. The shops, banks and offices had remained open. The law courts held their sittings. At no time had business been interrupted or the ordinary current of Paris life been changed. By four o'clock in the afternoon, all danger of opposition seemed over. In the evening the theatres were as crowded as usual.

But Morny, Saint-Arnaud and Maupas did not relax their vigilance. There were indications of dangerous undercurrents foreboding trouble on the morrow. Magnan kept the army in hand, ready for any eventualities. The Prince-President gave a dinner that evening to Turgot, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, and afterwards held a small reception at the Elysée.

On the morning of the third, the "Moniteur" published the list of the new Ministry. The principal members, besides Turgot, were Eugène Rouher, Justice; Saint-Arnaud, War; and Morny, Interior.

The Marquis de Turgot had been a Peer of France under Louis Philippe, but had finally rallied to the cause of the Prince-President, and from this time until his death in 1866, he served the Emperor, as Minister, Senator and Ambassador.

Monsieur Rouher had already distinguished himself as an advocate in the provinces and as a Deputy at Paris. He was rough and uncouth in his manners, but was a man of strong, original mind, and possessed great gifts as an orator. He continued in public office nearly all the time until the fall of Napoleon, and during the final years of the Empire was known as the "Vice-Emperor." His figure has been sketched by Zola in "Son Excellence Eugène Rougon."

Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud was a brilliant soldier, who had served with credit under the Duc d'Aumale when he was Governor of Algeria. For his services during the coup d'état he was made a Marshal of France. He commanded the French army in the Crimea and with Lord Raglan won the victory of Alma 20 September 1854. He died at sea nine days later.

No precautions had been neglected by the Prince-President to insure the approval of the nation. Nevertheless, on the third of December barricades were raised in the streets of Paris, and on the following day occurred the famous "massacre of the boulevards." Over 150 were killed and many more wounded. Paris was cowed. The coup d'état was an assured success. Many of the departments of France were put under martial law, and thousands were arrested and imprisoned or exiled. The work begun on the second of December was thoroughly carried out.

During the excitement of the third, the Prince-President had appeared in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in his carriage, alone and without escort. The mob, awed by the Prince's courage, took off their caps and raised a shout of, "Vive l'Empereur!"

"On the fourth night after the coup d'état," relates Captain Gronow, "I was present at a ball given by the Duchess of Hamilton in honor of the Prince-President, at the Hôtel Bristol, Place Vendôme. The Prince entered the ball-room accompanied only by one aide. He appeared perfectly cool and collected; he conversed with a great many persons, but more particularly with Lord Cowley, who had only arrived in Paris that morning to fill his post of British Ambassador. The instant the clock struck twelve, the Prince's carriage was announced; whereupon the Duke of Hamilton, taking two wax candles, conducted his guest downstairs, and handed him into his plain brougham. On his return to the ball-room, the Duke remarked that it was extraordinary that there was neither a police nor a military guard to protect the President." In fact, the Prince, without an escort, returned at midnight to the Elysée in a one-horse brougham!

Having thus thoroughly prepared the ground, Louis Napoleon appealed to the nation to approve his proposition for remodelling the Constitution. At the election held 20 December over seven millions voted in favor of so doing, and less than seven hundred thousand in the negative. Although the election was by no means fair, although force and intimidation were resorted to, it was evident that a vast majority of the nation approved of the coup d'état and was willing to entrust the government to another Napoleon.

Although still nominally President of the Republic, Louis Napoleon was in fact an absolute monarch. Little by little he surrounded himself with all the

state of a sovereign. He did not yet take up his residence in the Tuileries, partially because the lower floor was being repaired, but he gave large fêtes in the state apartments on the first floor.

The 14 January 1852 the new Constitution was given out. The President of the Republic was named for ten years with an annual civil list of twelve millions. In his hands were placed the supreme command of the army and navy, the power to conclude treaties of peace, of alliance and of commerce. His power was practically unlimited; he was Emperor in all but name.

The Prince-President neglected no occasion to show himself in public. A Sunday "des Grandes Eaux" he was acclaimed at Versailles. He appealed to the sympathies of the populace by frequent military parades and reviews. He was present at nearly all the premières of the Opéra and the Comédie-Francaise. He drove to Longchamps in an open carriage without escort. He even showed his courage and his confidence in the public by walking alone in the streets.

But if Louis Napoleon was willing to bide his time before assuming the Imperial mantle, his family and friends were not so patient, least of all Prince Napoleon, the son of King Jérôme. From every side, from Murat, from Ney and from Persigny, came demands for titles, for honors, for grants of money.

From the second of December Louis Napoleon began to draw his monthly allowance of a million francs, and was able to put his financial affairs in order and pay off his old debts. Other claims were also liquidated

at the same time. His old friend, Miss Howard, was given the title of Comtesse de Beauregard, with a very handsome revenue. But the "chaine anglaise" was not easily broken, and their relations continued until a short time before his marriage.

The national tranquillity was never greater than during the last year of the Second Republic. The President certainly had the public confidence and sympathy. He was therefore in no haste to take the final step of proclaiming the Empire. His thought seemed to be not to shock the susceptibilities of the people by appearing to be too eager to assume the sovereign power, and to accustom the nation gradually to the change. Already the eagles had been placed upon the flags, and his head was engraved upon the coins of the Republic; but he requested the municipal authorities, during his Presidential trips through the country, not to receive him with Imperial honors.

Secret petitions were circulated, begging him to restore the Imperial régime. Delegations called upon him to urge him to accede to the popular desire. So much discretion and procrastination drove his family almost mad, and they were loud in their reproaches.

Finally he decided that the moment had come. On his return from the famous visit to Bordeaux, where he had been received with great enthusiasm, he said that he was forced to recognize the fact that France desired the Empire. As a matter of duty, he consulted the Senate, which stated in its report that "the Imperial monarchy has all the advantages of the Republic without any of its dangers."

On the 21 November 1852 the people of France voted on the proposition of reëstablishing the Imperial dignity and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor under the name of Napoleon the Third. Nearly eight million Frenchmen voted "yes" and only a quarter of a million "no". On the second of December 1852, the anniversary of the coronation of the Great Emperor, Napoleon the Third was proclaimed Emperor of the French. The Second Empire was established.

In the brief period of four years Louis Napoleon had mounted from the position of an obscure and almost unknown Deputy to the Imperial throne of France. He had seen the complete realization of the most fantastic dream ever conceived by the mind of man.

"Though unfortunate in the circumstances connected with the coup d'état," says Hassall, "the Second Empire owed its origin to the disunion existing among the monarchists, the republicans, and the democrats. This disunion was certain to lead to anarchy, and the nation was justified in giving itself a dictator. Its choice of Louis Napoleon was due to the extraordinary development of the Napoleonic legend, the strength of which lay in the undoubted fact that Napoleon the First had reconstructed French society on a permanent basis and had saved France from a complete return to chaos and barbarism."

The revival of the legend was due to such writers as Béranger and Thiers. The ballads of the former became immensely popular, and "the little corporal with his gray military coat" became a well-known

EUGÉNIE

saying; while the histories of Thiers caused the name of Napoleon to become so endeared to the masses that the first use the peasants made of the grant of universal suffrage was to elect Louis Napoleon dictator. For the establishment of the Second Empire Thiers was as responsible as any one man.

When the question of the revival of the Imperial dignity in the person of Louis Napoleon came up in the Senate, one member, and one only, voted against it. This negative vote was cast by the Prince's former tutor, and life-long friend and adviser, Monsieur Vieillard. The next day Vieillard wrote the Prince to the effect that he feared his act, which had been dictated by his conscience, might sever their friendly relations. He received the following reply:

"Mon cher Monsieur Vieillard:

"Comment pouvez-vous croire que votre vote puisse nuire en quoi que ce soit à la vieille amitié que je vous porte? Venez déjeuner jeudi à onze heures comme à l'ordinaire, et le nouveau titre que je recevrai de la nation ne changera pas plus nos habitudes que mes sentiments pour vous. Recevez-en l'assurance. Votre ami,

"Louis-Napoléon

"Saint-Cloud, 9 novembre."

CHAPTER TEN

1853

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH

First Year of the Empire — Napoleon the Third and the Great Powers — Lord Cowley's Anecdote — Final Recognition of His Title — The Question of the Succession — Matrimonial Ventures of Louis Napoleon — Eugénie de Montijo — The Imperial Marriage — The Bonapartes Return — Splendor of the Court — Character of Napoleon — The Napoleonic Ideas — Political Institutions of the Empire — The Emperor's Policy

SINCE the day in 1832, when the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, Napoleon the Second, had made him the head of his party, the only thought of Louis Napoleon had been to become Emperor of the French. Now after twenty years of waiting his great desire was accomplished.

For many years all the world had ridiculed and derided him. Lord Malmesbury in his Memoirs tells us of how even his mother, the Duchesse de Saint-Leu, laughed with her guests at Arenenberg, over his dream, although at the bottom of her heart she believed in him and encouraged his aspirations, which she did not find so chimerical. His final success had surprised everybody, even those in the best position to form a careful opinion on the subject. Thiers had said of him: "He comprehends and understands nothing; a regular block-head." Victor Hugo, on the other

hand, said in 1848, on the eve of the presidential election: "The name of Napoleon Bonaparte means order, force and glory." A little later, the day of the election, he also said: "There is one name which sums up all the memories of the past, all the hopes of the future; it is the name of Napoleon, of the man most beloved by the people." At a later day, when disappointed in his personal ambitions, he called him "Napoleon the Little."

Tranquil and disdainful, Louis Napoleon went his way, without being disturbed for a moment by these contradictory judgments. Friends and enemies alike were surprised by the rapidity with which one event followed another: the dissolution of the Assembly, the reëstablishment of universal suffrage, the declaration of martial law at Paris.

The Empire was reëstablished, the dream of Louis Napoleon had become a reality. Paris was never more tranquil. The Prussian Ambassador at this time wrote in his memoirs: "Luxury and comfort have reappeared as if by enchantment. The eve of the coup d'état France was full of fear; the eve of the Empire, she is full of confidence."

The Emperor had only one regret, that his mother had not lived to see his dream realized. He called to mind the gloomy days of their exile in Switzerland, the despair of their flight from Italy, after the death of his brother, the days of exile and imprisonment. As he looked around the salons of the Tuileries, and his eyes rested on the Imperial insignia, the past seemed like a hideous nightmare. With all the palaces of France at his disposal, with a civil list of twenty-

five million francs, he could not but smile at the remembrance of his miserable lodging at Ham, and the petty loan of the crazy Duke of Brunswick which defrayed the expenses of his escape and flight to London.

To crown his ambition there now remained only the question of his recognition by the Great Powers of Europe. So far as France was concerned, his victory was assured, although won by means open to much question. But beyond the frontiers the name of Napoleon still carried with it the idea of war and conquest. At the public banquet at Bordeaux in October, on the eve of the proclamation of the Empire, he had uttered the memorable words: "L'Empire, c'est la paix." Could he convince the foreign Courts that the Empire no longer meant war?

From the first, the London journals manifested their hostility, and English public men their suspicions of his sincerity. Would not the Nephew seize the first opportune occasion to avenge the Uncle? Immediate steps were taken to reorganize the national defences, which had been much neglected since the close of the Napoleonic wars nearly forty years before. There was a regular state of panic in London, only surpassed during the gloomy days of 1805 when Napoleon was awaiting at Boulogne a favorable moment for throwing his army across the channel. But little by little these fears disappeared. Reports were received from France that there had never been so few signs of military activity. For his part the Emperor Napoleon was prodigal in his assurances of friendship, and of gratitude for the

generous hospitality shown him in London during his many years of residence there. He only asked of the Foreign Office a recognition of his title of Napoleon the Third, with the principle of heredity, past and future, which that designation carried with it. But just here was the rub, as Hamlet said. The Government could not see its way clear to recognize Napoleon the Third when they had never known officially a Napoleon the Second. Napoleon had twice abdicated the throne in favor of his son the King of Rome, but none of the Great Powers had ever in any way accepted this abdication. The opposition to the numeral "three" was as great in Berlin and Vienna as it was in London.

In this connection an interesting, if not strictly authentic anecdote is told, on the authority of Lord Cowley, the English Ambassador at Paris. During the last visit of the Prince-President to the provinces, the Prefect of the city of Bourges had issued orders that the Prince should be received with cries of "Vive Napoléon! ! !" and the printer of the proclamation had taken these three exclamation points for the Roman numeral III. When the President heard the cries of "Vive Napoléon Trois!" he asked an explanation, and having received it, remarked with a smile: "I did not know that I had a Prefect so machiavellian."

After the exchange of many diplomatic notes, after many calls by the French Ambassador, Comte Walewski, at the Foreign Office, the English Government, weary of the whole matter, finally abandoned its opposition. But the Emperors Nicholas of Russia

and Francis Joseph of Austria had more difficulty in coming to an understanding with their "frère," Napoleon. The Czar nevertheless had no great love for the Bourbons, and shared the warm admiration of his brother Alexander for their great enemy Napoleon. In his case there were also quite close family ties, his daughter the Grand Duchess Marie having married the son of Prince Eugène, brother of Queen Hortense, and therefore a first cousin of Napoleon. But it was important that the matter be decided. Prussia was the first to yield, and Austria soon followed. The Czar finally modified his objections, to the point of addressing the new sovereign of France as "Sire et bon ami" in place of the usual "Monsieur mon frère." All the small European States naturally followed the example of the "big four." So this rather ridiculous matter was finally settled.

Europe was now reassured as to the policy of the Empire; France was quiet, and the future seemed free from clouds. It was time to think of a successor to the Imperial throne. This was a matter which had given the First Napoleon much anxiety, and his marriage with Marie-Louise had been the indirect cause of all of his later troubles and his final downfall. His nephew was not destined to be any more happy in his choice of a spouse, and the later misfortunes of the Second Empire can be traced directly to the pernicious influence of the Empress upon Napoleon's policy and acts.

On all sides, Napoleon was urged to choose a wife. The idea was not a new one to him, for on several previous occasions he had seriously considered it. His

elder brother, at an early age, had married his cousin, the daughter of King Joseph, and Louis Napoleon had thought of following his example, and had asked the advice of his father on the subject at the time he was still living at Arenenberg. At a later day, when residing in England, after his escape from Ham, a marriage had nearly been arranged with Miss Bowles, but was broken off on account of his relations with the notorious Miss Howard. At another period there had been quite a romantic attachment between the Prince and his cousin Mathilde, the daughter of King Jérôme. This was ended by the affair of Strasbourg and his long absence in America. At still another date he had thought seriously of marrying his cousin the Princesse Marie of Baden, the future Duchess of Hamilton, for whom he always showed great affection. But her mother, the Grand Duchess Stéphanie, had higher aspirations for her daughter than a marriage with her visionary cousin Louis Napoleon.

It was certainly a strange freak of fortune that this man who was destined to reign over a rich and powerful nation, to appear, when at the height of his glory, to be the arbiter of a continent, should have met with nothing but rebuffs in his matrimonial plans.

As Emperor, his success was no greater. The reigning families of Europe, although they had been constrained to recognize him as a "brother," were unanimous in declining him as a son-in-law.

Disappointed in all of his hopes of a royal marriage, the Emperor made a virtue of necessity and announced his intention of selecting himself the wife of

his choice. Every one about the Court knew in advance who was to be chosen. Even before the coup d'état, every one had noticed, at all the Presidential fêtes, his marked attention to a beautiful stranger. Although not of royal blood, Eugénie de Montijo was beautiful enough to turn the head of an emperor. She was the daughter of the Count of Téba, subsequently Count of Montijo and grandee of Spain, and was born at Granada on the 5 May 1826, the date of the death of Napoleon at Saint Helena five years before. She was therefore eighteen years younger than her future husband. Her mother was a daughter of William Kirkpatrick, United States Consul at Malaga, a Scotsman by birth and an American by nationality. Her childhood was spent in Madrid, but after she was eight years old she lived with her mother and sister in Paris, where she was educated in the convent of the Sacré Cœur.

She had appeared frequently at the balls given by the Prince-President at the Elysée, where she first met her future husband. In November 1852, mother and daughter were invited to Fontainebleau, and in the numerous hunting parties, the beautiful young Spaniard, who showed herself an expert horsewoman, was greatly admired by her host. The following month she was present at a series of fêtes given at Compiègne after the proclamation of the Empire, and Napoleon became more and more fascinated. Early in January he made a formal proposal of marriage. The engagement was announced on the 22 January in a speech from the throne in which the Emperor said: "I have preferred a woman whom I love and respect, to a

woman unknown to me, with whom an alliance would have had advantages mixed with sacrifices."

Seven days later the civil marriage was celebrated at the Tuileries, with imposing majesty, and all the traditional forms of the ancien régime; and the day following the religious ceremony was performed at Notre Dame with unparalleled magnificence.

The reëstablishment of the Empire had brought back to Paris all of the members of the Bonaparte family who had not previously returned during the days of the Presidency. Now that they were once more reunited, every one noticed the strong family resemblance which nearly all bore to the Great Emperor, whose face was so familiar from the paintings of scenes of the First Empire. This was most marked in the case of Prince Napoleon and the Princesse Mathilde, and in the Comte Walewski, the son of Napoleon. Of all the family, the one who least resembled the First Emperor was his successor on the throne.

The Imperial Court was established on a scale of the greatest splendor. The Tuileries were put in a state of comfort and elegance unknown before. The stables were filled with superb horses, and the state carriages excited admiration wherever seen. Amidst all of this splendor of the new Empire, the man the most unconcerned, the most indifferent, was the Emperor, who appeared to have been accustomed to this scale of living all his life.

As had been the case under the First Empire, little by little the old aristocracy surrendered its prejudices and forgot its animosities and appeared at the

fêtes of the Tuileries. If the French army, as was found at a later date, was not as well armed and equipped as it should have been, no fault could be found with the appearance of the picked troops who took part in the frequent parades at the capital. The brilliancy of the uniforms aroused the enthusiasm of the people, and enhanced in their eyes the grandeur of the Empire.

"The President, who by the endless witchery of a name, by a profitable absence of scruples, and by favorable circumstances, had known how to become an Emperor," says Hazen, "was a man of ideas as well as of audacity, of generosity as well as egoism, of humanitarian aspirations for the betterment of the world, as well as of a vivid perception of the pleasures of personal advancement. His ideas, expounded gracefully in writings and in speeches, were largely derived from a study of the life of the Great Napoleon."

In a book called "Napoleonic Ideas," published during the period of his last residence in London, Louis Napoleon has given us an appraisal of the historical significance of the First Emperor. The fundamental idea of this work was that Napoleon had two purposes in view throughout his career. The first was the preservation of all that was valuable in the Revolution, the foundation of Society and the State upon a solid and enduring basis, which in his opinion could only be accomplished by the exercise of absolute power on the part of the ruler. This great end having been attained, through the preliminary period of training under an active and intelligent autocrat,

France would then be fitted to enter upon the life of freedom, the goal which he had always in view, and he could then carry out his second purpose, which was to put an end to this preliminary and probationary period of absolute rule, and give to the edifice the "crown of liberty" which it would be unsafe earlier to bestow.

That the latter part of his program, the granting of free institutions to France, was never carried out by the First Napoleon, was not his fault, but that of the re-actionary nations of Europe who continually made war upon him, and by his final defeat at Waterloo forever put an end to his plans.

Whether or not we agree with this analysis of Napoleon's ideas, it is of importance in that it throws a bright side-light upon the underlying policy of Napoleon the Third and explains to a great extent his policy as Emperor. It was his desire to finish the work which his uncle had been forced to leave incomplete, to restore law and order in France through the exercise of autocratic powers, and then to crown the finished structure with the cap of liberty, and this in brief is the history of the Second Empire — eight years of despotism, followed by the ten years of the "Empire libéral," with his program also unfulfilled when the catastrophe of Sedan occurred.

The political institutions of the early years of the Empire, adopted mainly from the Consulate, merit a word of description. There was a Legislative Body of 251 members elected every six years by universal suffrage, which was made the basis of the whole Imperial régime. But the rôle of this assembly was

modest in the extreme. It was not a real parliament such as had existed under the Restoration and the July Monarchy. It could not propose laws; all bills were laid before it by the Emperor. It could not even elect its own presiding officer; he was appointed by the Emperor. It did not even possess the power of taxation.

There was also a Senate, composed of high officials of the army, the navy, the church, and others, all appointed by the Emperor. This body too had no power of any kind, and was the mere tool of the sovereign.

There was also a Council of State, appointed by the Emperor, whose function was to frame the laws to be submitted to the Legislative Body.

At the head of the State stood the Emperor with practically despotic powers. He could say as truly as Louis the Fourteenth, "L'état, c'est moi." During the first eight years of the Empire parliamentary institutions were a form rather than a reality.

Although there was nominally universal suffrage, the elections were controlled by the Government, which named an official candidate in every district and usually succeeded in electing him.

The press was so thoroughly shackled that practically only government organs could exist. No new journals could be started without the permission of the Government. There could be no reports of the proceedings of the Legislative Body other than the dry summary prepared by the presiding officer. Under this system, political independence was completely extinguished. To all intents and purposes France

was living under a despotism as autocratic as that of the Czar of All the Russias.

In return for all this the Emperor sought to entertain and enrich France, in which effort he met with marked success. If the country was not free, it was rich and prosperous, and generally contented.

But pleasure did not engross the entire attention of the monarch. His reign was distinguished by a spirit of great enterprise; of good works, of benefit to many classes of society. The Emperor was anxious that his reign should be memorable for works of utility and improvement. He had a genuine love of humanity, a kindly feeling for the masses, and a desire to better their condition. He founded many hospitals and asylums, and societies for the relief of the poor. Free distribution of medicine was provided for. The railroads, denounced by Thiers as "the costly luxury of the rich," tripled their mileage in a few years. Canals were built, and steamship lines established to facilitate ocean transportation. No class of the population was ignored in these schemes. The Empire, he said, stood for the whole nation. In Napoleon's opinion the two preceding Governments had failed chiefly because they favored the classes instead of the masses — the Bourbons, the aristocracy, and the Orleanists, the rich middle classes.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1854–1855

THE CRIMEAN WAR

Prosperity of the Empire — Obligations of a Warlike Heritage — The Famous Speech at Bordeaux — Causes of the Russian War — The Sick Man of Europe — The Holy Places — Russia Invades the Danubean Principalities — The Anglo-French Alliance — First Year of the War — Battles in the Crimea — Siege and Fall of Sebastopol — Treaty of Paris — Results of the War — Visit to England — Birth of the Prince Imperial — Royal Visitors to Paris — The Exhibition of 1855 — Visit of Queen Victoria

THE first year of the Empire was one of unprecedented prosperity. In the abundance of work, and the general increase in wages, the working classes were resigned to the thought that they were no longer free to revolt at pleasure, and tear up the streets for barricades. The great middle-class, the bourgeoisie, was satisfied with its large profits and the great increase in well-being. The members of the old aristocracy, born-enemies of the Revolution and the Empire, yielded by degrees to the attractions of the brilliant Court of the Tuileries. Literature and the Arts took on a new life. The theatres were prosperous, and the opera crowded.

The dawn of the Imperial régime seemed to have ushered in an era of "peace on earth, good-will to men." Humane and generous by nature, anxious that

his reign should be remembered as a period of universal prosperity, Napoleon could not forget, however, that he was the successor of the great man whose victories had brought undying glory to France, and that his heritage carried with it the obligation, not only to conserve, but also to increase, the prestige of the powerful nation over which he reigned. With all his generous impulses in favor of humanity and civilization, there were moments when he carefully studied the map of Europe, and dreamed of wars and conquests. The benefits of a reign marked by peace and prosperity appealed to him as the noblest aim of a great monarch, but at the same time his imagination was captivated by the thought of military glory, and European supremacy. As Emperor of the French he felt that he must wage war, and events pointed to Russia as the predestined foe. A contributory motive, which without doubt influenced his decision, was the position taken by the Czar in the matter of the recognition of his title. He also felt that it would be good politics to divert the minds of the French people, by the clash of arms, from the thoughts of their lost liberties. But the crowning motive of all was the desire to make an alliance with one of the great Powers, which would restore to his Government the consideration which it had lost in the eyes of Europe through the dubious methods by which he had arrived at sovereign power. *Autant de raisons, autant de prétextes.*

Thus far Napoleon's policy had been controlled by a very clear perception of what was best for France. Now it was to change decidedly for the worse, to

become at the same time bolder and more uncertain, to create a general sense of insecurity both at home and abroad.

In the famous speech at Bordeaux in October 1852, just prior to the proclamation of the Empire, Napoleon had endeavored to reassure France and also Europe on this subject. He then said: "There is a fear to which I ought to reply. In a spirit of distrust people say: the Empire is war. But I say: the Empire is peace." Nevertheless, as Emperor, he failed to adhere to this wise policy. His reign was marked by frequent wars, disastrous alike to France and to his dynasty, wars which could easily have been avoided, and which were begun, with the exception of the last and most fatal of all, upon pretexts rather than reasons of political necessity.

To understand the Crimean War, which brought much misery to France, and only a little fictitious glory, it is necessary to outline briefly the causes which led up to it.

Early in 1853, the Czar Nicholas, in a note to the English Government, stated that the collapse of the Turkish Empire was imminent. He spoke of the Sultan as a "sick man," an expression which became historic, and proposed that England and Russia should agree upon the division of his estate. Disclaiming for himself any idea of taking Constantinople, he suggested that the provinces of Turkey in Europe should be made independent states, presumably under the control of Russia, while England should take Egypt and the island of Crete, thus safeguarding her route to India. Nothing came of

LA PRINCESSE MATHILDE

this proposal, as the English Government refused to consider it.

For some time before this, there had been a quarrel going on between Turkey and Russia and France, regarding the control of the so-called "Holy Places" in Palestine, the spots identified with the life and death of Christ. This dispute was finally settled by negotiations, but the Czar immediately afterwards made a demand upon the Sultan that he should put under the protection of Russia all Greek Christians living in the Turkish Empire, of whom there were several millions. Under advice of the English and French Governments, to which this demand was submitted, the Sultan declined to comply. His refusal was immediately followed, in June 1853, by a Russian invasion of the Turkish provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, which now make up the Kingdom of Roumania. The demand of Turkey, that Russia withdraw her troops, was not heeded, and the two nations were at war. Russia thought that hostilities would be confined to these two powers, but in this the Czar was mistaken, for England and France, and later Piedmont, came to the assistance of Turkey, and Nicholas had four enemies to contend with instead of one. The first general European war since the days of Napoleon had commenced.

England went into the war from a number of mixed motives. The country was tired of peace and both the political parties were in favor of war. It was the general belief that the continual expansion of Russia would sooner or later threaten the routes to India, and that the time had come to check it.

England and France had joined in the demand that the Russian armies retire from the Principalities, and on the refusal of the Czar to do so, on the 27 March 1854, both countries declared war. The French and English armies joined the Turks, who had been fighting the Russians on the Danube. After a short campaign the Russians were driven across the river, and by July were out of the Principalities. England and France had now gained the object for which they had entered the war, but they had ulterior purposes in view, so the conflict went on. They desired to defeat Russia decisively, so as to prevent her from further expansion in southeastern Europe. In September 1854, they therefore invaded the Crimea, a peninsula in southern Russia extending out into the Black Sea. The object of the campaign was to capture Sebastopol, a strong Russian naval station, and destroy the Russian fleet which had its base there, and so cripple the naval power of the nation for many years to come.

At the Alma, a river about twenty miles north of Sebastopol, on the 20 September 1854, the Allied army defeated the Russians. On the 25 October there was an engagement between the Russians and the Allies at Balaklava, a small seaport about eight miles southeast of Sebastopol. Through a misconception of Lord Raglan's orders, the Light Brigade under Lord Cardigan was ordered to charge the Russian artillery at the extremity of the valley. With a battery in front and one on each side, the Light Brigade hewed its way past the guns and routed the enemy's cavalry. This charge was the inspiration of the well-

known poem by Tennyson. In a severe battle at Inkerman, near Sebastopol, the French and English severely defeated the Russians on the fifth of November, with heavy losses on both sides.

The chief feature of the war, however, was the siege of Sebastopol, which lasted for eleven months. After a heavy bombardment, the place finally surrendered the 8 September 1855.

The Crimean War was marked by the fearful suffering of the troops from the intense cold, and the general inefficiency of both the commissary and medical departments. These deficiencies were remedied before the end of the war, but only after a deplorable loss of life.

The fall of Sebastopol, after one of the longest and most terrible sieges in history, had been followed by a feeling of lassitude in both armies. Although the war dragged on for several weeks longer, all parties were now anxious for peace. In spite of the warlike attitude of the English Minister, Lord Palmerston, it was agreed to submit all the questions in dispute to a Congress to meet in Paris the last of February 1856.

Nicholas, the Czar of Russia who began the war, had died the second of March 1855, bitterly disappointed over the failure of his plans. He had been succeeded by his son, Alexander the Second, a man of very different character, who was sincerely desirous of improving the conditions of Russian life. After a month's deliberations, the Treaty of Paris was signed the 30 March 1856. So ended a needless war which had sacrificed several hundred thousand lives and resulted in no enduring advantages to the Allies. As a

solution of the Eastern Question the war was a complete failure. The French Emperor gained some military glory and diplomatic prestige, and the King of Piedmont earned the gratitude of Napoleon, who a few years later materially aided him in his Italian policy.

In the importance of the negotiations, and in the brilliancy of the receptions by day and of balls at night, the famous Congress of Paris in 1856 recalled the equally celebrated gathering at Vienna in the winter of 1815, which was so rudely interrupted by the unexpected return of Napoleon from Elba. The business meetings were held only every other day. Every evening there was a state dinner followed by a ball. Comte Walewski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave a celebrated dinner, at which he proposed a toast to the durability of the peace. "It will be lasting," he said, "because it is honorable for everybody."

Two days after the signing of the Treaty, on the first of April 1856, the Emperor ordered a grand review, on the Champ-de-Mars, of his army which had covered itself with glory. That day his usually impassible countenance was glowing with an expression of joy and pride. The delegates to the Congress showed by their presence the high regard in which the Emperor was held both by his Allies and his late enemies. It was one of the red-letter days in the life of Napoleon the Third.

During the month of April of the year 1855, while the siege of Sebastopol still drew out its seemingly interminable length, Napoleon had the desire to visit

as a sovereign the places associated with his life in exile. Before opening the Exposition at Paris, accompanied by the Empress, he crossed the Channel to pay a visit to England and draw tighter the ties of friendship existing between the two great nations which for the first time in their long history were fighting as allies and not as enemies.

Credit has generally been given to Edward the Seventh for bringing about the Anglo-French entente, but its real author was the Emperor Napoleon the Third. The Imperial visitors had an enthusiastic reception in the city of London and at Windsor Palace. Queen Victoria herself attached to the knee of the Emperor the great English decoration of the Order of the Garter, and placed the collar around his neck and gave him the accolade. At the Guildhall he was formally presented by the Lord Mayor with the Freedom of the City of London. Wherever he appeared in public he received a popular ovation. The Queen herself spoke of the remarkable vicissitudes of fortune which had raised to the rank of one of the most powerful monarchs of Europe the former English exile who seemed then to have so little future before him. In her journal she wrote:

"Is it not extraordinary that I, the grand-daughter of George the Third, should dance in 'Waterloo Room' with the Emperor Napoleon, nephew of the greatest enemy of my country, to-day my close ally, and who eight years ago lived in this country an unknown exile."

In truth what a striking example of the changes of fortune!

In France, in spite of the war, and the shortage of provisions, the direct taxes, the most certain indication of public wealth, each year produced a revenue in excess of the most optimistic expectations. The credit of France had never stood so high. The Emperor never saw days so flourishing as those of the last year of the Crimean War.

The first two years of the Empire had been marked by sore, although temporary calamities, while during the year 1855 terrible inundations had devastated the country districts, and the long and expensive and bloody war had afflicted humanity.

In the spring of 1856, only the memory of this period of sadness remained. The month of March had been marked by two important events in the annals of the Empire, the birth on the sixteenth of an heir to the throne, the Prince Imperial, and the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris on the thirtieth — events which at the time seemed to hold the promise, unfortunately never realized, of great hopes for the destiny of the Empire.

Not a cloud obscured the bright sky of the national life. Peace had brought its boon to the continent. Napoleon, more ambitious for glory, or for its semblance, than for assured and permanent benefits, was for the moment triumphant. The principal object of the Crimean War, the neutralization of the Black Sea, had been attained. He could not foresee that only fourteen years later, during the Franco-Prussian war, when Europe was powerless to prevent, Russia would seize the opportunity to abrogate this provision of the Treaty of Paris. No tangible or enduring profit, either

for France or his dynasty had been gained by so great an expenditure of life and money. But for the moment France was the arbiter of Europe. This theatrical result satisfied him; he asked for nothing more.

But a fortnight before the conclusion of the Treaty, the Emperor had experienced a joy more personal and more complete. The birth of an heir to the throne was expected during the month of March. Every day there was a crowd of visitors at the Hôtel de Ville to admire the silver cradle to be presented to the Imperial child by the City of Paris.

The first news came in the midst of a dinner given to the Ambassadors by Baroche the President of the Council of State on the evening of the 15 March.

Suddenly an officer entered and summoned the host to repair at once to the Tuileries where the birth of a child was momentarily expected. The Emperor was in a state of indescribable nervousness. Finally, however, his agony was turned to transports of joy. At three o'clock in the morning the infant so much desired came into the world. Every one was delighted except Prince Napoleon, the son of King Jérôme, who until that moment had been the heir-presumptive of the Imperial throne. He could not conceal his jealous rage. For several hours he refused to sign, as first Prince of the blood, the birth certificate of Louis-Eugène-Napoleon. Finally he was brought to reason by his sister Mathilde who said: "Of what use is your refusal to sign. The evidence will not be less than it is. The bad blood which you are showing will only injure yourself." He took the pen with a gesture of rage and signed.

The city had not yet been notified of the joyous event. Finally at seven o'clock in the morning was heard the first discharge of artillery announcing the great news. The old officer at the Invalides, who commanded the squad of artillery men, had filled the same place at the birth of the King of Rome, the Duc de Bordeaux, the Comte de Paris, and now of the Prince Imperial — four heirs to the throne of France, none of whom was ever destined to reign. As usual, the birth of a daughter would be announced by twenty-one reports, of a son by one hundred. After the twenty-first discharge, there was a slight pause, in order to accentuate the effect, and then followed the twenty-second and so on up to the final report. But the populace had ceased to count, and universal joy was expressed.

By a coincidence of dates, the Prince Imperial was born on the same day of the month of March that the Allies during the Campaign of France in 1814 refused the final peace proposals submitted by the Emperor Napoleon to the Congress of Châtillon. The ministers meet on 16 March and unanimously rejected the plan. So ended the last hope of preserving the Imperial crown. Two weeks later Paris opened its gates to the Allied troops, and that city for the first time yielded to the bitter experience which the generals of the Revolution and the Empire had so often imposed on foreign capitals. Now the wheel of fortune had turned, and the victors of 1814 received peace at the hands of another Napoleon, who had become their host and their ally. For France and her Emperor the revenge was complete.

The 14 June 1856 the Prince Imperial was christened at Notre Dame with a pomp and ceremony before unknown. It was a holiday in Paris, and the rejoicing among the people was not less than in official and court circles. The conspirator of the coup d'état might well feel that he had arrived at the summit of human felicity.

"Forty years later," says Loliée, "an adherent of the Orleans family, and consequently an adversary whom one could not accuse of complaisance towards the Imperial régime, recalled to me in conversation his impression of those days — of admiration mingled with fear, of admiration for the beauty of the spectacle, and of fear for its fragility."

In the midst of these appearances of strength and security, only a few clairvoyant spectators, like the Duc d'Aumale, had a presentiment that the catastrophes of war would one day ruin this magnificent Imperial structure.

But few then thought that this first war of the Second Empire would lead to another, and this again to a third which was to bring in its train untold disaster and ruin.

France was rich, happy and respected. Foreign princes repeated their visits to the Emperor, drawn by the attraction of a noble and cordial hospitality. Among others, in 1856, the Emperor received the visit of the Prince of Prussia, afterwards the first German Emperor. He was accompanied by Moltke, who was to become at a later day the Chief of the General Staff of Prussia. At the Tuileries and at Compiègne, and in the highest circles of French

society, the visitors were entertained with the greatest courtesy.

This visit was followed by that of the Grand Duke Constantine, brother of the Czar, and High-Admiral of Russia. Yesterday he was the mortal enemy of France; to-day he was the messenger of peace, desirous of bringing in person the assurances of complete reconciliation between the two nations.

While the Crimean War was still being waged, the Emperor was happy to be able to turn to the preparations which were being made in the Champs-Elysées for the "Universal Exhibition of the Arts of Peace," which had been put under the charge of his cousin Prince Napoleon.

The Exhibition of 1855, which opened on the 15 May, included the Fine Arts, and was admirably classified and arranged. Even Russia, with which France was still at war, had been invited to send exhibits. There were no less than twenty-five thousand exhibitors, and during the summer and autumn, Paris was crowded with visitors from all parts of the world.

On the 18 June, Queen Victoria accompanied by the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal, afterwards the Empress Frederick of Germany, arrived at Boulogne to visit the Exposition. Napoleon himself had gone to Boulogne to meet the royal party. It was nearly two o'clock before the Queen's yacht was moored to the quay, and twilight when the special train reached Paris.

The Queen has recorded her impressions of her "first sight of Paris." She speaks in her journal of the drive from the station by the Boulevard de Stras-

bourg, the Emperor's creation, and along the inner boulevards by the Porte Saint-Denis, the Madeleine, the Place de la Concorde, up the Champs-Elysées, past the Arc de Triomphe, and through the Bois de Boulogne, to the Palace of Saint-Cloud. The Queen was delighted with the splendor and brilliancy of the scene. Within the Palace, she said that "everything was magnificent and all very quiet and royal."

The next day began with a visit to the Exposition, through immense crowds of enthusiastic Parisians. Later the Emperor conducted his guests to the Sainte Chapelle and other sights of his capital. In crossing the Pont au Change he called the attention of the Queen to the Conciergerie and said "Voilà où j'étais en prison." "Strange contrast," writes the Queen, "to be driving with us as Emperor through the streets of the city in triumph."

The good impression which the Emperor had created at Windsor was confirmed while he acted as host. The Queen said that no one could be kinder or more agreeable.

A day was spent at Versailles, where the party had luncheon. An evening was given to a gala performance at the Opéra. A visit was also made to the private apartments in the Tuileries, where, on the day of the State ball at the Hôtel de Ville, a "cosy little dinner" was given by the Emperor. "The Emperor was in high spirits, and we talked most cheerfully together," remarks Queen Victoria; and she then goes on to tell how she stood in the window with the Emperor and Prince Albert, and talked of old times, while looking out on the Gardens and listening to the

music, and how extraordinary it was that they should be there together in the old Château of the Tuileries, so full of historical memories.

Another day, on the Champ-de-Mars, there was an imposing review of 40,000 troops. Afterwards, in the dusk of the evening they visited the Tomb of Napoleon in the Invalides. Here by the light of torches borne by some of the Old Guard, the Emperor led Queen Victoria into the chapel where the Conqueror still lay, with the sword of Austerlitz upon his coffin, which had not yet been placed in the magnificent mausoleum which was then in course of construction.

"There I stood," the Queen remarks in her Diary, "at the arm of Napoleon the Third, his nephew, before the coffin of England's bitterest foe; I, the grand-daughter of the King who hated him most, and who most vigorously opposed him, and this very nephew, who bears his name, being my nearest and dearest ally! The organ of the church was playing 'God save the Queen,' at the time, and this solemn scene took place by torch-light and during a thunderstorm. It seemed as if in this tribute of respect to a departed and dead foe, old enmities and rivalries were wiped out, and the seal of Heaven placed on that bond of unity, which is now happily established between two great and powerful nations. May Heaven bless and prosper it!"

The illustrious party went back to the Tuileries for another quiet dinner and thence to the Opéra Comique. The Queen returned to Saint-Cloud for the night more delighted than ever with the Emperor.

A State ball was given at Versailles, the imperial magnificence of which was the talk of Paris for many days. Among the few persons presented to the Queen on this occasion was the Prussian Minister at Frankfort, Otto von Bismarck.

The last day of their visit the Emperor drove the Queen through the park in his phaeton, and in the course of their drive they had a very frank conversation, in which the Queen explained her relations with the exiled Orleans family, and the Emperor in turn gave his reasons for the confiscation of their property in France, an action for which he had been much attacked. This is all recorded in full in the Queen's Diary.

The following day, in beautiful weather, the Royal visitors left for England. The Emperor conducted his guests to Boulogne and bade them au revoir on their yacht.

The Queen, in her final impressions of her ten days' visit to Napoleon, during which they were thrown together constantly for many hours every day, pays a most graceful tribute to her host. She says:

"It is extraordinary how very much attached one becomes to the Emperor. He is so quiet, so simple, naïf even, so gentle, so full of tact, dignity and modesty. His society is particularly agreeable and pleasant; there is something fascinating, melancholy and engaging, which draws you to him, in spite of any *prévention* you may have against him, and certainly without the assistance of any outward advantages of appearance, though I like his face. He undoubtedly has the most extraordinary power of attaching people

to him! The children are very fond of him; to them also his kindness was very great, but, at the same time, most judicious."

Certainly a very fine tribute from a noble woman to an extraordinary man!

On her return to Obsorne the Queen wrote a most cordial letter of thanks for the ten happy days passed as his guest, and signed herself with "tender friendship and affection" his "bonne et affectionée sœur et amie, Victoria."

The Exposition was closed in November in the presence of an extraordinary assemblage of distinguished persons, and afforded the Emperor one of those opportunities which he knew so well how to use, for making his sentiments and wishes known, not only to France but to all Europe.

CHAPTER TWELVE

1859

ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE

Count Cavour — Piedmont in the Crimean War — The Congress of Paris — The Comtesse de Castiglione — The Orsini Conspiracy — The Pact of Plombières — The Austrian Ultimatum — The Campaign in Lombardy — Victories of Magenta and Solferino — The Peace of Villafranca — Explanation of Napoleon's Action — Resignation of Cavour — Savoy and Nice Annexed to France

IN his youth, Louis Napoleon had made two supreme resolutions, the first that he would restore the Empire, the second that he would free Italy. The first part of his life's work had been accomplished; the second remained still unfulfilled. Although the thought of Italian unity had never left his mind, he still hesitated for fear of foreign complications to commit his country to the ambitious plans of Cavour.

Count Cavour was born at Turin on the first of August 1810. As a younger son he was destined for the Army. At the age of sixteen he graduated from the Military Academy at Turin at the head of his class. After serving five years in the engineers, he resigned his commission, and during the next few years devoted himself to study and travel, frequently visiting London and Paris. He began at this time to dream of a united Italy, free from foreign influence, but was unable to take any active part in politics owing to the reactionary tendencies of the government.

In 1848 the revolutionary movement in Germany and France extended to Italy, where revolts broke out everywhere against the established order. The King in the month of March had been forced by public opinion to declare war against Austria, but the Piedmont Army was no match for the veteran legions of Austria, and an armistice was concluded in the summer. When hostilities were resumed the next winter, the Piedmontese were totally defeated at Novara 23 March 1849 and the King, Charles Albert, abdicated in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel. In the July elections Cavour was returned to Parliament, where he soon gained a dominating influence. On the fourth of November he became Prime Minister, a position which he held with the exception of two short intervals until his death in 1861.

Then followed the Crimean War, in which Cavour first showed his extraordinary political insight and diplomatic genius. His preparations for the war of Italian Independence were begun as early as 1854. In January of that year he broached the subject to the King with the tentative inquiry: "Does it not seem to your Majesty that we might find some way of taking part in the war of the Western Powers with Russia?" To which Victor Emmanuel answered simply: "If I cannot go myself I will send my brother." But it is not too much to say that the whole country was against him; even the heads of the Army were lukewarm; this was not the war they wanted. In the light of after events it seems strange that the alliance with France and England found so very few supporters. But it was not given to many to have the pro-

LA COMTESSE DE CASTIGLIONE

phetic vision of Cavour. Just a year later, 10 January 1855, the protocol of the alliance of Sardinia with France and England was at last signed. Never did a statesman play for a more daring and hazardous stake.

When asked how the alliance could possibly be of use to Italy, he replied that plots and revolutions could never free Italy from the Austrian yoke. The laurels won by Sardinian soldiers in the East would do more for Italy than anything else; it would prove that Italians could fight. But what if the laurels were never won? At last the long-desired news arrived. On the 16 August the troops fought a successful engagement in which the men showed courage and steadiness. The nation was at once converted to the war policy.

In February 1856 the preliminaries of peace were signed, much to the disappointment of the King and Cavour. The nation also asked once more, what was the good of it all? Time was soon to answer the question.

The Congress met in Paris the last of February 1856 and Cavour was present as the representative of Sardinia. Although he hated the task, he had all the qualities of a successful diplomatist. He neglected no opportunities, and enlisted in his services every one who could aid the cause. Thus he made an emissary of his cousin the beautiful Comtesse de Castiglione.

If personal beauty be regarded as the sovereign gift, the crown among the *charmeuses* of the Second Empire should be awarded to the Comtesse de Castiglione. According to authentic documents she was born in the palace of her father the Marquis Oldoïni the 22 March 1835, although she claimed a date eight

years later. At the age of twenty, Virginie Oldoïni married the Comte Castiglione, a gentleman of the household of the King of Piedmont. At twelve years of age she was as large and as beautiful as she was at twenty. As a child, she had known Louis Napoleon, who had often visited the Oldoïni palace during his winters in Florence, where her father at one time was his tutor. Her cousin Cavour was the first not only to appreciate her beauty, but also to realize how useful her intelligence and talent for intrigue could be in his diplomacy.

It was at the instigation of Cavour that Madame de Castiglione went to Paris early in the winter of 1856, just prior to the meeting of the Peace Congress. Her first visit was to Madame Walewska, a Florentine like herself, and the wife of Comte Walewski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, whom she wished to see for the purpose of renewing old acquaintance and also to be assured of a favorable reception by Parisian society. But the lovely Comtesse had no need of a sponsor, for the reputation of her charms had preceded her. Her début was made at an official ball at the Tuileries, where she attracted great attention, and danced with the Emperor himself. It did not take her long to capture the susceptible heart of Napoleon.

That she came from Turin to Paris with the formal intention of attracting the attention of the Emperor, and of aiding the diplomacy of Cavour, is shown conclusively by a letter which the latter wrote at the time: "La belle Comtesse," he said, "est enrollée dans la diplomatie Piémontaise. Je l'ai invitée à coqueter, et, s'il le faut, à séduire l'Empereur."

Cavour had been a great gambler all his life. In this game, the beauty of Madame de Castiglione was his trump card, and with it he won the game. She soon gained sufficient influence over Napoleon to persuade him to invite Cavour to be present at the Congress of Paris. With his trump card, Cavour had won the first trick of the game, of which the stake was to be the unity of the Kingdom of Italy. It would be absurd, of course, to claim that the influence of the lovely Comtesse was the decisive cause of the war, but there is much evidence to show that she greatly aided the plans of Cavour in deciding the wavering mind of the Emperor.

In the two months which Cavour spent in Paris he found that Walewski and the other Ministers were far from friendly to his plans. He could count on two men, however, to continue his work by keeping the cause of Free Italy constantly before Napoleon; one was Prince Napoleon, who in 1859 married the Princess Clotilde, daughter of Victor Emmanuel; the other was Doctor Conneau, Napoleon's companion in prison at Ham, who was entirely in the Imperial confidence. Henceforth, Conneau was the secret, and for a long time the generally unsuspected, intermediary between Cavour and the Emperor. Another powerful influence was that of the Italian Count Arèse, the truest and most disinterested friend of Queen Hortense, who remained attached to her son in good and evil fortune. Arèse was in Paris during the Congress, having been sent by the King to convey his congratulations upon the birth of the Prince Imperial.

With regard to Cavour's real business at Paris, the fate of Italy, he was obliged to act with the greatest self-restraint. The object nearest his heart was the union, or rather reunion, of Parma and Modena with Piedmont, to which those duchés had annexed themselves in 1848. Cavour returned to Turin without bringing "even the smallest duchy in his pocket," but satisfied that his moral victory was complete.

Time seems long to those who wait. After the great expectations aroused by the Congress of Paris there followed a period of great depression in Lombardy. The years went by and the hope of assistance from outside seemed more remote than ever. Then came one of those unforeseen events which have so often marked a turning point in the world's history.

In the year 1855, an attempt had been made on the life of the Emperor by an Italian named Pianori. Napoleon, who was on horseback, was riding at a walk, when a man standing on the sidewalk took careful aim and fired at him. The Emperor was nearly thrown from his saddle by the force of the bullet, which hit him full in the chest. His life was saved either by a coat of mail which he wore under his tunic or by the ball encountering some article in his pocket.

Over two years later occurred the celebrated attempt of Orsini.

The evening of the 14 January 1858 there was to be an extraordinary performance at the old Opéra in the Rue Le Peletier for the benefit of the tenor Massol. One act of "Guillaume Tell" was to be given, followed by the ballet of "Gustave III," and "Maria Stuarda" with Ristori. The Emperor and

Empress were to be present. The Opéra stood between three streets, the Rue Le Peletier, the Rue Rossini and the Rue Drouot. On the fourth side was a narrow sombre passage-way called the "Passage Noir" which communicated with the Boulevard des Italiens by two showy galleries. The building had been constructed in 1820 upon the site of the former gardens of the Hôtel de Choiseul.

That evening the directors of the Opéra and several dignitaries of the Court were awaiting the arrival of the Imperial party. It was half past eight, and the street was occupied by the escort, composed of the Lancers of the Guard. The Imperial equipage was drawing up before the stairway leading to the official box. Suddenly, at short intervals, were heard three terrible explosions. The window panes on all sides were broken, and the street was filled with the killed and wounded. The Emperor descended from his carriage as calm as usual, and a few minutes later appeared in his box with his usual impassible face, while the conspirators on the stage sang the chorus of the oaths in "Guillaume Tell." He had escaped as by a miracle. Two projectiles had pierced his hat, but he had received no injury beyond a slight scratch on the nose.

Two months later Orsini and Pieri, the chiefs of the conspiracy, were guillotined. It was the strong desire of the Emperor to pardon Orsini, but the loss of life had been too great, and it could not be. Yielding to the advice of his Ministers, Napoleon signed the death warrant.

No one in Europe was more dismayed by the news

of the Orsini attempt than Cavour, who feared that the sympathy of Napoleon for Italy would be turned to ill-will. A little later he received from Paris a copy of Orsini's last letter to Napoleon before his execution, with his dying prayer: "Free my country and the blessings of twenty-five million Italians will go with you." Napoleon himself had been a conspirator most of his life, and this plea awoke a responsive echo in his heart. It was this, and not fear, as insinuated by the Prince of Prussia, which so strongly moved the Emperor. The memory of his own part in the Italian revolutionary movement of 1831 also gave dramatic force to the appeal.

A month after Orsini's execution, Cavour received from a secret source, probably the Comtesse de Castiglione, the report that the Emperor was seriously considering an alliance with Sardinia, and also a marriage between his cousin, Prince Napoleon, and Clotilde, the King's daughter. Cavour showed the report to the King, but did not place much credence in it.

In June, Doctor Conneau, who was travelling for "pleasure," saw both the King and Cavour at Turin. Under the seal of absolute secrecy it was arranged that Napoleon and Cavour should meet by "accident" at Plombières, a watering-place in the Vosges. Next month the Minister left Turin to take the cure.

He succeeded in travelling so secretly that he was nearly arrested on his arrival because he had no passport. But one of the Emperor's suite recognized him, and made everything straight. He passed nearly all of two days in secret conference with Napoleon.

After the meeting on the second day the Emperor took him out in a carriage driven by himself, and at this time the project of Prince Napoleon's marriage with the Princess Clotilde was talked over. That evening the Emperor informed Cavour with a smile that Walewski had just telegraphed him from Paris the news that the Italian Minister was at Plombières!

Cavour went home with great hopes, but no certainty that the Emperor meant to act. He never felt sure whether Napoleon was in earnest or only building castles in the air. Still the basis of an understanding had been reached. The Austrians were to be driven from Italy; then there was to be formed the Kingdom of Upper Italy. In return for the French assistance, Savoy was to be ceded to France; the fate of Nice was left undecided. Cavour had been authorized by the King to agree to all of these propositions; but had been instructed not to yield the point of the marriage of his daughter to the Emperor's cousin unless the alliance depended on it, which did not prove to be the case. On his return, however, Cavour urged the King, as a matter of policy, not to put any obstacles in the way of the marriage. Such was the celebrated Pact of Plombières.

The French alliance still rested on nothing more substantial than a verbal understanding which Napoleon could repudiate at will. The marriage of Prince Napoleon, however, afforded an opportunity for obtaining a more solid bond. The vanity of the Emperor was so flattered by the alliance of a member of his family with one of the oldest royal houses in Europe that he authorized Prince Napoleon, when he went

to Turin, to sign a formal agreement pledging France to come to the assistance of Piedmont in case of an act of aggression on the part of Austria.

As early as the month of December, in a conversation with Odo Russell, Cavour had declared that he would force Austria to declare war against Italy, and when the incredulous Englishman asked when he expected to bring about this consummation of his plans, he replied, "About the first week in May." Even so astute a statesman as Bismarck once declared that he never could tell in advance whether his plans would succeed; he could take advantage of political events, but he could not direct them. But since the meeting at Plombières, Cavour had undertaken to direct events, the most difficult game which a statesman can play.

Almost at the eleventh hour, it looked as if Napoleon, in spite of his promises and his treaty, would decide not to go to war. For a moment Cavour thought he had failed. Apparently the Emperor's hesitation was real and not feigned. His Ministers and the Empress were strongly opposed to the war, for fear of a reverse. As Eugénie said, when flying from Paris in 1870: "En France il ne faut pas être malheureux."

At the very moment that Cavour thought that the game was lost, the unexpected happened. The Austrian Minister Buol sent a contemptuous refusal of the English proposal for a Congress, and said that they would themselves call upon Piedmont to disarm. Here was the famous act of aggression: Napoleon could not escape now. Such a piece of luck could not happen once in a century.

At the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies 23 April 1859, the Austrian ultimatum was presented. The Sardinian army was to be placed on a peace-footing, and unless a satisfactory answer was received within three days Austria would resort to force. Cavour replied that Piedmont had accepted England's proposal for a Congress, and that he had nothing more to say. The French Ambassador at Vienna notified Buol that his sovereign would consider the crossing of the frontier by Austrian troops equivalent to a declaration of war.

At the end of April the war began. The public opinion of other nations blamed Austria and exonerated Piedmont, most unjustly, for, as we have seen, this war had been desired by Cavour and brought about by him with extraordinary skill. That he had succeeded in throwing the whole responsibility for it on the enemy was only further evidence of his clever statesmanship.

The war lasted only about two months. The Austrian armies were large, but as usual badly led. When Piedmont was at their mercy, before the arrival of the French troops, they wasted their time. Active fighting did not begin until the French army, under command of the Emperor, reached Italy. The theatre of war was limited to Lombardy. At Magenta, on the fourth of June, and at Solferino twenty days later, the Allies were victorious. The latter was one of the greatest battles of the 19th century. It lasted eleven hours, and more than 260,000 men were engaged, and nearly 800 cannon. All Lombardy was conquered and Milan was occupied. It looked as if Venetia could

be easily over-run, and Napoleon's statement that he would free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic" accomplished.

Suddenly Napoleon halted in the full tide of success. On the eleventh of July, he sought an interview with Francis Joseph at Villafranca, and concluded an armistice without consulting the wishes of his Ally.

The terms agreed upon between the two Emperors included the cession of Lombardy to Sardinia, and the inclusion of Venetia in the Italian Confederation, which was to be formed under the honorary presidency of the Pope, as a province, however, under the crown of Austria.

The considerations which had determined Napoleon to halt in the middle of a successful campaign, and before he had attained the objects of the war, were many and serious. While Magenta and Solferino were victories, they might easily have been defeats. Although Lombardy had been conquered, there lay before the Allies the famous Quadrilateral, a strongly fortified position, and they would soon be out-numbered by the Austrian reserves which were coming up. Moreover, Prussia was mobilizing her troops on the Rhine, and threatening intervention, and France could not afford to fight Austria and Prussia combined.

Francis Joseph was equally eager for peace. He had no competent generals to command his armies. Hungary was making trouble, and he had no desire to be saved by Prussia, which might then seize the leadership in Germany. Thus both sovereigns were eager to come to terms.

The news of the armistice was a cruel blow to Cavour, dashing his hopes of a free Italy just as they seemed about to be realized. He completely lost his self-control, and, in a fit of rage, resigned his premiership, because the King refused to follow his advice and resort to desperate measures. He was also very unjust to Napoleon, who if he had not done all that he had planned for Italy had yet rendered very valuable service, in securing the annexation of Lombardy to Piedmont. The Emperor himself acknowledged that the failure to carry out the entire program cancelled any claim he had for the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France.

In January 1860, after an absence of six months, Cavour returned to power. He soon saw that the annexation of Central Italy to Piedmont could not be effected without Napoleon's consent, which could only be obtained by paying his price, which was the cession of Savoy and Nice to France.

In order not to violate the principle that people have the right to dispose of themselves, it was arranged that a plébiscite should be taken in both cases. As was expected, the states of Central Italy voted almost unanimously in favor of annexation to Piedmont. Modena, Parma, Tuscany and the Romagna were thus added to the Kingdom of Piedmont, which had already received Lombardy. In less than a year a small state of five million inhabitants had more than doubled its population. Savoy and Nice, with a population of about 700,000, also voted almost unanimously in favor of annexation to France. One result of this annexation was to prove unfortunate

to France: it alienated England from Napoleon completely. England had no wish to see her powerful neighbor grow larger. The Emperor was to feel the effect of this estrangement before many months had passed.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1860

FRANCE AND ITALY

New Year's Day at Rome — Resignation of Walewski — The Speech from the Throne — Monsieur Thouvenel — The Italian Question — Nice and Savoy — The Great Powers — Treaty of Turin — Napoleon and Pius Ninth — General Lamoricière — The Pontifical Army — Journey of the French Sovereigns — The Piedmontese Invasion — Castelfidardo and Ancona — Kingdom of Naples — Diplomatic Protests — The Interview of Warsaw — Victor Emmanuel at Naples — End of the Year 1860

AT the reception of the Diplomatic Corps at the Tuileries on New Year's Day 1859, Napoleon, in a calm and courteous tone, had addressed to the Austrian Ambassador the remarks that had foreshadowed the war of Italian Independence. But the first of January 1860 passed at Paris without any such dramatic stroke as had ushered in the previous year.

At Rome, however, the occasion was not so quiet. The Pope, Pius Ninth, in reply to General de Goyon, who had presented the respects of the French army of occupation, alluded to a publication, well known to have been inspired by the Emperor, as "a signal monument of hypocrisy," and made it very evident that the continuance of friendly relations between the Empire and the Holy See depended upon a disavowal of that publication. The French Ambassador,

the Duc de Gramont, wrote to Walewski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the painful impression made by the earnest words of the Holy Father, who gave way to his feelings in a manner most unusual to him. On receipt of the news at Paris, the Empress was very much distressed. She could not hope to obtain a disavowal from the Emperor and, as a devoted adherent of the Pope, she dreaded the result. She desired to see the occupation of Rome by the French troops continued, as much as the Emperor wished to put an end to it. This might be called the beginning of an "irrepressible conflict" which was to last as long as the Empire existed, and which was finally to prove the ruin of the Imperial dynasty. Napoleon was literally "between the devil and the deep sea." If he recalled his troops from Rome, he would remove the last hope of the continuance of the temporal power of the Papacy and alienate forever the Catholic Church, which from the time of his candidacy for the Presidency had been his strongest and most effective supporter. If, on the other hand, he continued to maintain his forces in the Sacred City, he would block the hopes of Italian unity and lose the dearly-won friendship of his ally in the war of 1859. This antagonism between the two elements in the councils of the Emperor was to be displayed on more than one occasion during the year.

Up to the close of the Congress of Paris, Comte Walewski, who was in charge of the Foreign Affairs of France, had been in entire accord with the Emperor, but as soon as he saw that Napoleon was inclined to favor the plans of Cavour, this complete

agreement no longer existed. As has already been stated, he was kept in ignorance of the meeting of Napoleon and Cavour at Plombières. He was opposed to the war, and eager to bring it to a close. This may have led him, in his dispatches to the Emperor, to exaggerate the danger of Prussian intervention, which was the compelling motive that led Napoleon, in the full tide of success, to seek an interview with Francis Joseph and arrange the Truce of Villafranca.

The Treaty of Zurich, which finally ended the war, had contained the proposition of a Congress, but the Emperor, after long hesitation, made up his mind to abandon to Sardinia the whole of Central Italy, including the Legations, and to demand in return the cession of Nice and Savoy. As it would be difficult to justify annexations so contrary to the Treaty, he no longer desired a Congress. The last of December there was published the pamphlet called "The Pope and the Congress," which had so deeply moved the Holy Father.

The Pope, bound by his solemn oath of office, could not consider for a moment the idea of ceding any part of the States of the Church. When the Congress was definitely abandoned, Comte Walewski, a staunch supporter of the Papal claims, resigned his portfolio. The "Moniteur" of the fifth of January 1860 published the following decree: "Monsieur Thouvenel, Ambassador at Constantinople, is appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs to succeed the Comte Walewski, whose resignation has been accepted."

The English view of the episode was well expressed by a leader in the London "Morning Post" which concluded thus: "There will be no more of those hesitations which have characterized the interval between the interview of Villafranca and the present moment. The head which directs the policy of France will be in accord with the hand which will carry it out. In any case, there will be no intervention, and no opposition to Italy's taking the rank which belongs to her among the nations of Europe, and which will satisfy at the same time the wishes of the Emperor Napoleon and the desires of the English nation."

This article was reproduced in the "Moniteur" of the following day, and the French public was in this indirect manner notified of the diplomatic situation.

The parliamentary session was opened this year on the first of March, at the Louvre, in the Hall of States, which is near the Salon Carré. During the reign of Napoleon, the speeches from the throne were always an event, the Emperor writing them himself and carefully correcting the proofs. His speeches nearly always foreshadowed his policy for the coming year, and were therefore looked forward to with curiosity. Published immediately after delivery, they were at once transmitted by telegraph to all countries.

In 1860, the speech from the throne was more widely read and commented on than usual. The Emperor said that, as he had guaranteed Italy from foreign intervention, he had not hesitated to inform the King of Sardinia that he could not follow him in his apparent tendency to absorb all the Italian States,

LE COMTE WALEWSKI

and that he had advised him to maintain the autonomy of Tuscany and respect in principle the rights of the Holy See.

He next foreshadowed the coming annexation of Nice and Savoy. He said: "In view of this transformation of Northern Italy, which gives to a powerful State all the passages of the Alps, it was my duty, for the sake of our frontiers, to claim the French slopes of the mountains. There is nothing in this demand for a very limited territory which should alarm Europe or seem to contradict that policy of disinterestedness that I have more than once proclaimed."

Then touching on the subject of the recent religious agitation, he said that the past should be a guarantee for the future, that for the last eleven years he alone had maintained in Rome the power of the Holy Father, without ceasing for a day to revere in him the sacred character of the chief of his religion.

He assumed full responsibility for the commercial treaty with England, and concluded his speech with these eloquent words: "The protection of Providence, so visible during the war, will not be lacking to a peaceful enterprise whose object is the amelioration of the condition of the more numerous classes. Let us then steadily continue our progressive march, delayed neither by the murmurs of selfishness, the clamoring of parties, nor unjust suspicions. France threatens no one; she wishes to develop in peace the immense resources bestowed on her by Heaven, and she ought not to arouse jealous susceptibilities, since, at our present state of civilization, a truth which

consoles and reassures humanity becomes every day more dazzlingly evident: namely, that the more prosperous a country becomes, the more it contributes to the riches and prosperity of all others."

With the opening of the session of the Corps Législatif, general attention was directed to the negotiations for the annexation of Nice and Savoy. These were conducted with great skill by Thouvenel, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Thouvenel, who belonged to an old and honorable family of Lorraine, was born at Verdun, 11 November 1818. At college he showed a real vocation for historic and diplomatic questions, and a volume which he published on "Hungary and Wallachia," after a journey to the Orient, attracted the attention of Guizot, who obtained his admission to the political department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In 1845, he was sent to Athens, as attaché, and was finally appointed Minister by Louis Napoleon four years later. After serving for over a year as Minister at Munich, in February 1852, he was made chief of his old department in the Foreign Affairs. Owing to friction with the Minister, in 1855, he was appointed Ambassador at Constantinople, where he made a brilliant record, bringing to a happy finish every negotiation that he undertook, notably the negotiations relating to the opening of the Suez Canal.

With such a record, the appointment of Monsieur Thouvenel as Minister of Foreign Affairs was very favorably received by the public. He brought to his work limitless zeal, intelligence and activity. He was at once a student and a man of action. Thouvenel

was one of the men who have most dignified the reign of Napoleon the Third.

When Thouvenel entered upon his duties as Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Italian question had taken a new phase. England had just formulated four propositions: (1) France and Austria to refrain from any further interference in Italian affairs; (2) France to withdraw its troops from Italy as soon as this could be done without endangering order; (3) The internal organization of Venetia to be separately considered; and (4) Sardinia to take no further steps towards annexations in Central Italy until the matter had been submitted to a new plébiscite.

Towards the end of February, France proposed the following, in a spirit of conciliation: (1) Complete annexation of Parma and Modena to Sardinia; (2) Temporal administration of the Romagna by Sardinia as representative of the Holy See; and (3) Complete reëstablishment of Tuscany.

The French policy of compromises was a flat failure. It was satisfactory neither to the Pope, nor to the King. Cavour, who had returned to power in January, felt himself master of the situation, and no longer hesitated to act. He sent to Paris, as chargé d'affaires, Monsieur Nigra, his disciple, a young man full of tact and cleverness. At the same time he intrusted a confidential mission to Arèse, one of the oldest friends of Napoleon, who had great influence with him.

It was evident that Sardinia proposed to go ahead with the annexations, which were to modify profoundly the relations between the two countries. As Napoleon had not fully redeemed his promise to

"free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic," he had felt that he was not in a position to demand Nice and Savoy, and had acquiesced in the annexation of Lombardy with three million inhabitants to the old Kingdom of Piedmont with its five million souls. But now that it was proposed to increase Sardinia further by the addition of another three million inhabitants, comprised in the four states of Tuscany, Modena, Parma and the Romagna, the Emperor felt that he should have Nice and Savoy as a guaranty against the powerful Kingdom in Northern Italy. It was only a question of elementary precaution that Italy should no longer possess both slopes of the Alps.

To the Emperor Napoleon and his Minister Thouvenel is due the credit for the annexation of Nice and Savoy to France. England did everything in her power to defeat the plan, and it required all of the energy and ability of Thouvenel to bring the matter to a happy conclusion. He remained undisturbed by the objections raised, not only abroad, but also in France. He gave Sardinia distinctly to understand that she could not annex the duchés and the Romagna without giving France the frontier of the Alps. Finding that there was no hope of interference from the Great Powers, and that England would not act unaided, Cavour and the King made a merit of necessity and yielded.

The annexations were accomplished without further delay. On the 24 March 1860, the Treaty of Turin was formally signed, by which Sardinia ceded to France the territory of Nice and Savoy. The treaty stipulated that the inhabitants of all the

regions annexed to France should be consulted. The votes were taken at two special elections in April, and in both cases were practically unanimous in favor of union with France. No popular vote had ever recorded such a majority. It was a brilliant triumph for the Second Empire.

The Emperor wanted to make Thouvenel a duke, but the Minister refused any reward except the Grand Cross of the Légion d'honneur.

In his work on "Napoleon the Third," Saint-Amand is authority for the following interesting anecdote regarding the relations of Napoleon and Pius Ninth: "In 1831, Louis Napoleon had just come to grief in the insurrection of the Romagna. Hunted by the Austrian troops, he wandered about, vainly seeking a place to lay his head. Arriving before Spoleto, of which city the future Pius Ninth was then Archbishop, he remembered that when this prelate was a simple canon at Rome, he and his brother had often served his Mass, and it occurred to the fugitive to ask him for shelter. Monseigneur received the son of Queen Hortense very kindly, and borrowed five thousand francs and gave them to the former altar boy. Then putting the Prince in his own carriage, he took the reins and drove him to a place of safety. The Pope, hearing of this incident, summoned the Archbishop to Rome, where he remained for some time in disgrace. He did not, in fact, receive his cardinal's hat until 1840. Could a grateful heart like that of Napoleon the Third forget such a service?"

When Louis Napoleon was candidate for President of the Republic, he had no warmer supporter than the

former Archbishop of Spoleto, who by that time was Pope, and the harmony between the Empire and the Papacy was not disturbed until the War of 1859. When that broke out, the most positive assurances were given to the Pope that all necessary measures would be taken to insure his safety and independence.

Towards the end of January 1860, a very difficult situation was suddenly created by the application of the deputies of the Romagna for admission to the Sardinian parliament. It was reported that England and France would immediately recognize the new state of things; and the relations between the Vatican and the Tuileries at once became tense. No longer relying upon the protection of the strong arm of the "Eldest Son of the Church," Pius Ninth decided to organize a pontifical army to defend by force, if necessary, the States of the Church.

In 1860, a militant prelate, Monseigneur de Mérode, belonging to the highest aristocracy of Belgium, a chamberlain of the Pope, was appointed Minister of War by Pius Ninth. It was the new Minister who conceived the idea of inducing General de Lamoricière to enter the Pope's service.

Lamoricière was probably the most illustrious of the few soldiers of France who had refused to take service under the Second Empire. On the first of April 1860, he arrived in Rome, and immediately accepted the appointment of Generalissimo of the Pope's Army, with the sole proviso that he should not be called upon to serve against France. He received from the Emperor the authorization required to preserve his French citizenship.

On his arrival in Rome, the pontifical army comprised about 16,000 men, and Lamoricière occupied himself with completing its organization. Volunteers poured in, particularly from the Catholic provinces of western France, and from Belgium, and the army was soon increased to nearly 25,000 men.

It is difficult now to understand why the Emperor should have chosen this most critical period of the relations between France and Italy and the Holy See, to start on the longest of the many Imperial journeys undertaken during his reign.

Judged solely by the acclamations with which the sovereigns were everywhere greeted, the trip made by the Emperor and Empress to southeastern France, Corsica and Algeria, was the most successful ever undertaken. Leaving Saint-Cloud on the 23 August, after a stop at Dijon, the Imperial party reached Lyon the following evening. Here they visited the Palace of Arts and then the Palace of Commerce, which they inaugurated. After several days spent in Savoy, the party went to Grenoble and Avignon, and then proceeded to Marseille, where they arrived on the eighth of September.

Here a despatch was received by the Emperor from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, stating that the Cabinet of Turin was sending a note to Cardinal Antonelli, to declare that if the Holy See did not disband the foreign troops, the Sardinian army would enter the Marches and Umbria, to occupy these provinces. Thouvenel then went on to say that this resolution of the Sardinian Government was extremely grave, as it attacked the very principle of the French

occupation of Rome, and furthermore would seriously affect French relations with all the Great Powers, who could not understand how such a step could be taken without the consent of the French Government.

In his reply the Emperor instructed Thouvenel to write that, if the Sardinian troops entered the Papal States after an insurrection, for the purpose of restoring order, he had nothing to say, but if the States of the Church were attacked, he should withdraw his minister from Turin and intervene as antagonist.

From Marseille the sovereigns sailed for Nice via Toulon, and on that very day, the eleventh of September, the Piedmontese troops invaded the States of the Church and occupied Umbria and the Marches. Nevertheless the Emperor protested for form's sake only, and made no serious opposition.

Leaving matters in this precarious condition, on the 13 September the Emperor left Nice for Corsica. It was long before the days of wireless telegraphy and he was for the time being entirely out of touch with the grave events which were occurring daily.

The Emperor, however, knew perfectly well that he could prevent the occupation of the Papal territory by a single word. Abandoning himself to fatality, he left Italy to work out its own destiny. Thouvenel, having failed to induce him to oppose Piedmont effectively, made no further efforts to stem the torrent.

The Imperial yacht arrived at Algiers on the morning of the 17 September. Here on the following day, the Emperor received news of the death of the Duchess of Alba, the elder sister of the Empress. She

had married a descendant of the famous Duke of Berwick, the illigitimate son of James the Second of England by Arabella Churchill, sister of the great Duke of Marlborough. In order not to cancel the elaborate preparations which had been made for their entertainment, Napoleon withheld the news from the Empress until their return to France four days later. So ended the long triumphal voyage of a month. Napoleon, like Nero, had fiddled while Rome burned!

In the meantime, a Piedmontese army of 33,000 men had invaded the Papal States. The hour was decisive, and everybody wondered what Napoleon would do. As we have already seen, he did nothing but interpose a purely platonic opposition. The Pope and his Generalissimo still hoped for French assistance. While the defenders of the Holy See were thus beguiling themselves with vain hopes, the Piedmontese invasion was going on without difficulty. The French Ambassador, the Duc de Gramont, wrote Monsieur Thouvenel: "There is no use trying to delude ourselves, we have never been criticized so severely as we are now. There is nobody who is not entirely convinced of our *complicity* with the Piedmontese."

Lamoricière had to fight without any assistance from France, and was obliged to retire in the direction of Ancona. With hardly 5,000 men, he had to contend against nearly three times as many Piedmontese. On the 18 September, at Castelfidardo, about seven miles south of Ancona, he was overwhelmed by the veteran troops of Piedmont, and

reached Ancona about six o'clock in the evening with an escort of only eighty men. Here ten days later, all means of defence being exhausted, Lamoricière was obliged to capitulate. The garrison went out with the honors of war. The officers were transported by sea to Genoa, where they were restored to liberty.

Lamoricière went at once to Rome, where he resigned his command to the Pope, who conferred upon him the Order of Christ. He refused to accept any other reward for his services.

The Marches and Umbria were definitely lost to the Holy See. Until the year 1870, which saw the end of the temporal power of the Pope, all that remained of the former extensive States of the Church was Rome and its immediate environs, with a population of about 700,000 souls.

In the south of Italy, events had taken a course decidedly opposed to the French program. Garibaldi and his "thousand" had sailed from Genoa, with the connivance of the King and Cavour, and landed in Sicily, which he speedily overran. Thouvenel wrote to Persigny at London, proposing that the two Governments should prevent Garibaldi from crossing the Strait. England having refused the proposition, France could not afford to act alone. Sure of immunity, Garibaldi was free to go on with his conquests. On the evening of the 6 September, the King, Francis the Second, left his palace in Naples, which he never was to see again; and went aboard a Spanish ship in the harbor, and sailed for Gaëta.

Garibaldi, who was at Salerno, took an express

train, and went to Naples, which he entered with only a dozen officers. In a city of 400,000 inhabitants, he encountered not the slightest resistance.

On the ninth of October the troops of Piedmont crossed the Neapolitan frontier, and Victor Emmanuel addressed a proclamation to the people of southern Italy. He said: "I await with calmness the judgment of civilized Europe and that of history, because I am conscious of having accomplished my duties as a King and as an Italian. I know that in Italy I am putting an end to the era of revolutions."

A few days later, before any vote had been taken, Garibaldi in a decree announced the reunion of the Two Sicilies to the Kingdom of Italy.

Everybody was wondering what action would be taken by the Great Powers. For a moment it was thought that they would come to the aid of King Francis. The Czar not only issued a formal protest, but also recalled his minister from Turin. The Prussian legation was not recalled, but from Berlin also there came a severe censure of the invasion of the States of the Church and of the Kingdom of Naples.

The dispossessed Italian sovereigns took heart when they learned that a meeting had been arranged at Warsaw between the Czar, the Emperor of Austria and the Prince Regent of Prussia.

After declaring that the objects of the interview were not to form a coalition but to bring about a general understanding between the Great Powers, the Russian Court asked the French Government to let it know how far it could go toward accomplishing

this result. Never had French diplomacy been placed in a more delicate position.

Monsieur Thouvenel drew up a memorandum in which he stated the four following propositions: (1) If Italy attacks Venice, the Germanic powers remaining neutral, France will lend it no support; (2) The state of things which brought about the last war will not be restored. Lombardy will not be brought in question; (3) Everything which concerns the territorial limits of Italy will be submitted to a Congress; (4) Nice and Savoy will not be subjects of discussion at the Congress, even though Italy should lose the acquisitions it has made since the stipulations of Villafranca and Zurich.

The Czar adopted the substance of the above memorandum and made it the theme of the discussions at Warsaw. But all that passed between the sovereigns was an exchange of courtesies. No decision of any importance was reached. No one cared to go to war over the Italian question, and it was evident that Italy would yield only to force.

The sovereigns separated on the 26 October, and the following day Lord John Russell, chief of the Foreign Office, addressed to the English minister at Turin a sensational dispatch which concluded as follows: "The Government of the Queen can see no sufficient motive for the severity with which Austria, Prussia and Russia have censured the acts of the King of Sardinia."

This memorable dispatch had an immense success at Turin. Without spending a pound or risking the life of a single English soldier, England had substi-

tuted itself for France in the gratitude of Italy. Such was the result of the hesitating and vacillating policy of the Emperor Napoleon during the year 1860.

Having nothing further to fear from the Great Powers, sure of immunity, Victor Emmanuel could now go straight to his object. On the seventh of November he made a triumphal entry into Naples. Refusing all rewards for his services, Garabaldi retired to his small estate on the little island of Caprera.

As the Emperor Napoleon reviewed in his mind the events of the year, he felt well satisfied. He rightly considered the annexation of Savoy and Nice as the greatest success of his reign. To his mind, the private interests of France came second to the general interests of mankind. Apostle of the principle of nationalities, of the right of every people to decide its own destiny, he was doomed to be a martyr in this cause.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1855–1867

GLORIOUS DAYS OF THE EMPIRE

Two Great Military Reviews — Death of the Grand Duchess Stéphanie — The Baden Interview — The Visit to Corsica — The Reconstruction of Paris — Home Life in the Tuileries — The Exhibition of 1867

DURING the reign of Napoleon the Third there were two grand reviews of his armies which surpassed all others in splendor. The first was on Christmas day 1855, when there defiled before the Emperor the battalions recalled from the Crimea, and the other was on the 14 August 1859, when the whole population of Paris united in cheering the troops returning from Italy.

The first of these demonstrations was impressive, although on a much smaller scale than the second. The war in the Crimea was not yet finished, but the Emperor had decided to recall the Guard, and also four regiments of the line which had seen the hardest service. The wintry temperature was mitigated by a clear, sunny sky, and the streets were crowded with spectators. The Place Vendôme was encircled with grand-stands.

Napoleon had placed himself at the head of the troops massed in the Place de la Bastille, and had led the parade by the Boulevards to the Place Vendôme. Here he halted in front of the tribune of the

Empress, and after saluting her, turned to review the parade as it passed. The troops, headed by General Canrobert, showed by their appearance that they had been through a hard campaign, and made a profound impression on the popular imagination.

Four years rolled by, and then came the more striking spectacle of the 14 August 1859, the day of the return to the capital of the French army, covered with the glory of the victories of Magenta and Solferino. The Emperor, who had personally commanded his troops, had been back at Saint-Cloud for four weeks, and had arranged all the details of the spectacle.

The day was magnificent, the enthusiasm universal, and the occasion as grand as the triumphs of ancient Rome. Again, the Place Vendôme was encircled with tribunes, and decorated with flags and flowers. As the divisions marched by with their victorious eagles and the flags captured from the enemy, they were greeted with a regular shower of flowers from the windows above. But the enthusiasm was unbounded when the Emperor himself appeared, holding on the pommel of his saddle the little Prince Imperial, only three years old, who was dressed in the blue and red uniform of a grenadier of the Guard. The scene was indescribable. Handkerchiefs were waved, flags dipped, swords raised in salute; the soldiers, the spectators all applauded the baby Prince, upon his first public appearance. There was a regular tempest of enthusiastic cheers, and it was thought the demonstration would never cease. The association of this child, who seemed to represent the hopes

of the nation, with the victories of Magenta and Solferino, at the base of the column crowned with the statue of the founder of the dynasty, touched the hearts of the people. At such a moment, who could fail to believe in the glorious future of the Empire!

The last of January 1860 the Court of the Tuileries was thrown into mourning, and the social whirl was for a time interrupted by the death of Stéphanie, Grand Duchess of Baden. Few careers have been so brilliant as that of this princess. The father of Josephine's first husband had a brother Comte Claude de Beauharnais, whose son, also named Claude, was the father of Stéphanie, who was born at Paris 28 August 1779. Although frequently referred to by historians as the aunt of Napoleon the Third, it was only "à la mode de Bretagne." After the death of her mother, she had been confided to the care of an aunt, an aged réligieuse, with whom she was living in complete obscurity, when her uncle conceived the idea of taking her to Paris and presenting her to Josephine. Josephine took a fancy to the young girl, and sent her to the fashionable school of Madame Campan at Saint-Germain, where her daughter Hortense and Napoleon's sister Caroline were also pupils. When she left school, her beauty, grace and wit made a sensation at the Court of the Tuileries. Napoleon liked her so much, that in March 1806, to the surprise of everybody, he adopted her as his daughter, thereby giving her precedence as an Imperial Highness over his own sisters. A month later, 8 April 1806, she was married in the Chapel of the Tuileries to Charles, Grand Duke

LE DUC DE MORNY

of Baden, a prince belonging to one of the oldest and most illustrious families in Europe, whose sisters had married respectively the Czar of Russia, the King of Sweden and the King of Bavaria. From this marriage there were born three daughters. The eldest, Louise, by her marriage with Prince Gustavus Vasa, had a daughter who was at one time thought of as a wife for Napoleon. She subsequently married the Prince Royal of Saxony, and became a Queen on his ascending the throne of his father. The second, Josephine, married Prince Anthony of Hohenzollern, and was the mother of the first King of Roumania, and of that Prince Leopold, who in 1870 was a candidate for the throne of Spain, and the indirect cause of the Franco-German war. The youngest daughter, Marie, who was also thought of as a wife by Louis Napoleon, married in 1848 the eldest son of the Duke of Hamilton, and was prominent at the Court of the Tuileries during the Second Empire.

The Court of Berlin had been greatly disturbed by the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France, and it was generally assumed that the next move of Napoleon would be to rectify the borders of France on the northeast by claiming the old frontier of the Rhine. In order to reassure the public mind, and put a stop to these rumors which were greatly irritating the South German States, Napoleon suddenly proposed to the Prince Regent of Prussia an informal interview at Baden, to which all the German sovereigns except the Emperor of Austria might be invited.

During the reign of Louis Philippe, Baden had

become a favorite summer resort for Parisian society, and its popularity had much increased since the establishment of the Second Empire. The season of 1860 opened with this impromptu congress, at which nearly all the German sovereigns were present.

The Emperor left Paris at seven in the morning on the 15 June, and arrived at Strasbourg at four-thirty, where he was greeted by a tremendous crowd. At Baden, he took up his residence in the Villa Stéphanie, the former home of his cousin the Grand Duchess. He had often visited there as a young man while living at the Château of Arenenberg nearby. It gratified him to reappear as the Emperor of the French in the city which he had not seen since the eve of the Strasbourg attempt nearly a quarter of a century before. His only regret was that the amiable Stéphanie was no longer there to receive him, but he was greeted by her daughter Marie, the Duchess of Hamilton.

He arrived at half-past seven in the evening, and received the visit of the Prince Regent an hour later. The next day the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg, and the minor German sovereigns also called. It reminded the world of the days when the Great Emperor held his court at Erfurt, and all the European princes danced attendance.

Napoleon produced a very favorable impression on all by his cordiality and simplicity of manner. He returned to Fontainebleau, where he had left the Empress, on the 18 June. The Baden interview greatly increased the prestige of the Emperor, and had a very favorable effect on public opinion everywhere.

The Bourse greeted his return by a great rise in prices.

During the long and successful journey of the Emperor in the early fall of 1860, he spent a day at Ajaccio, the cradle of the Imperial race. Leaving Nice in the Imperial yacht, "L'Aigle," on the evening of the 13 September, the next morning they discovered on the horizon the picturesque isle of Corsica. A little later, Ajaccio appeared, in its magnificent site, lying in an amphitheatre of mountains at the extremity of the azure gulf. In the prison of Ham, Napoleon had often dreamed of a triumphal voyage to Corsica, and at last his dream had come true.

At noon, the party landed at Ajaccio, and, after listening to an address of welcome, drove to the Place Letizia, in which is situated the Bonaparte house, a large four-story dwelling. Burned during the Revolution, it had been rebuilt later by the family of Cardinal Fesch, the uncle of Napoleon. It contains much authentic furniture of the period of the First Empire, and among other curios, a harpsichord which belonged to Madame Mère. Then they visited the Fesch palace, and its chapel, in which are the tombs of Madame Mère and the Cardinal, both of whom died at Rome.

After a stormy voyage the yacht reached Algiers on the morning of the 17 September, and here the Emperor received a telegram announcing the death of the Duchess of Alba, which had occurred the previous night at Paris, in her hôtel on the Champs-Elysées. The sad news was withheld from the Empress

until she landed in France a few days later, when she was overwhelmed with grief. She went into retirement for several months, and suppressed for that year the customary fêtes at Compiègne, and did not resume her social duties as sovereign until the following season.

The most important internal work of the reign of Napoleon was the reconstruction of Paris, under the direction of the Prefect of the Seine, Baron Haussmann. No obstacle was put in the way of his plans. He had the assistance of the ablest engineers of the time, the authority of the Emperor, which ordered and directed, the funds which made the execution possible. His task was to change from top to bottom the physical aspect of a great city.

Vistas were opened through masses of unsanitary dwellings. In his cabinet at the Tuileries, the Emperor placed a ruler on the map of Paris and drew a straight line from the Opéra to the Palais Royal, and gave orders for the creation of the magnificent Avenue de l'Opéra. The outlying quarters were connected by straight boulevards to the heart of the city. The Rue de Rivoli was extended from the Tuileries to the Bastille, through one of the most tortuous, ill-built and over-populated quarters of Paris. The gigantic plan of the completion of the Louvre, which had appalled several preceding dynasties, was carried out. The magnificent Place du Carrousel was levelled and laid out. The Grands Boulevards were completed to the Madeleine. To the west, the Champs-Elysées were decorated with flowers and shrubs, and enlivened

with fountains, and the Bois de Boulogne was finished like a gentleman's park, and embellished with broad expanses of ornamental water. The Tour du Lac became the fashionable drive of Paris.

A stately Palace of Justice rose on the banks of the Seine. The Hôtel Dieu and the Opéra were completed. The beautiful Parc Monceaux and the magnificent avenues radiating from the Arc de Triomphe were laid out on what at the time of the Revolution of February were waste lands or slums.

The dirty alleys and tumble-down houses around Notre Dame were cleared away. The Tour Saint-Jacques became the centre of a garden, and the Place du Châtelet a quarter of new and handsome theatres. The Place des Vosges, the ancient Place Royale, the meeting place of the Mousquetaires in the celebrated romance of Dumas, became once more a fashionable quarter of the city, where Victor Hugo made his residence after his return from exile.

If by the wave of a fairy's wand we could bring back for a moment the Paris of Louis Philippe, a cry of horror would fill the air. People would wonder how the fastidious Parisians ever lived in such pestilent dens. The horrible maze of loathsome by-ways in the Quartier Saint-Marceau, the cut-throat alleys of the Cité, the dark and muddy streets which lay between the Palais Royal and the unfinished Louvre, the miserable huts and sheds upon the broken ground between the Tuileries and the Louvre, the ugly slums about the Arc de Triomphe, the dusty, neglected Bois — these were only a few of the plague-spots transformed by the plans of the Emperor into the broad

and beautiful boulevards, public squares and parks, which will be an enduring monument of his reign.

The general plans for these improvements had been formed and studied under preceding administrations, but the work had never been commenced. Under Napoleon the enormous work was begun and carried to a successful conclusion. On every side there were changes of perspective and new aspects. Blocks of old houses disappeared as by enchantment. Friends of the past lamented to see disappear so many edifices where generations had lived and died. Lovers of art denounced the vandalism of the destruction of so many historical monuments. Amateurs of original construction revolted against the uniformity and monotony of the new façades. But all objections were swept aside, and the work went on.

The opening of new quarters kept pace with the destruction of old. Socialists cried out against the abuse of authority which chased the artists from the centre, and wiped out the Paris artistic and historic for the unique triumph of a luxurious materialism.

But the Emperor did not confine his attention to the embellishment of his capital. Lyon, Bordeaux and other great centres felt the benefits of his initiative. One of the first acts of his government had been to unite to Lyon the three suburbs of La Guillotière, Vaise and Croix-Rousse, thus placing under one municipal administration the districts so closely united by a community of interests. At Rouen, handsome new streets appeared between the railway station and the old town. Everywhere in France the same far-

seeing policy was carried out. The cities were embellished with monuments. Industry received a new impetus. France attracted to its markets the funds of all Europe.

Now that the Tuileries have been destroyed for fifty years, and plans of the building are very difficult to obtain, it is not easy to give an idea of the arrangement of the palace. The main front was on the former Cour des Tuileries, now transformed into a garden, with the entrance by the Place du Carrousel. There were two main stories, with a lower third story above. At the centre was the Pavillon de l'Horloge, with the Pavillon de Flore at the left, or side of the Seine, and of Marsan at the right, on the Rue de Rivoli. The rear of the place looked out on the Gardens, with the Place de la Concorde and the Champs-Elysées beyond.

To get an idea of the internal arrangement of the rooms, so difficult to describe, and of which a plan would hardly clear up the intricacy, the best way to-day is to visit the "petits appartements" at Versailles. There, in those dark corridors, where there is hardly room for two persons to pass; in those steep, turning staircases, which have to be lighted night and day; in those little rooms, with ceilings so low you almost touch them with your head, you are able to visualize what the Tuileries were like, during both the First and the Second Empire.

The principal room was the Hall of the Marshals, which with the grand vestibule and staircase of honor occupied all of the central pavilion, and formed the communication between the two wings of the palace.

The left wing contained on the first two floors the apartments of the Emperor and Empress, while in the right wing were situated the rooms of the Conseil d'État, the Chapel, the Salle de Spectacle, and at the end, on the Rue de Rivoli, the rooms for distinguished visitors.

The Emperor selected for his private rooms in the Tuileries a few low chambers on the ground floor between the Pavillon de l'Horloge, at the centre, and the Pavillon de Flore abutting on the Seine embankment. A dark corridor, always lighted by a lamp, connected the rooms. From the Emperor's study a flight of steps led down from one of the windows to the Gardens, where he took his daily walks.

The Emperor's cabinet, where he did all of his work, was a low, gilded chamber, the walls of which were covered with miniatures of the family and arms of every kind. The furniture was of the First Empire. Queen Victoria recorded in her Diary that the Emperor had in his bedroom busts of his father and uncle, and in other rooms, portraits of Napoleon, Josephine and Hortense.

From the cabinet of the Emperor, a spiral staircase led to the library of the Empress above. Adjoining the cabinet were the rooms of his secretaries, and beyond was the Council Chamber where the meetings of the Ministers were held. Nearby were the quarters of his former valet Charles Thélin, now Privy Purse, and of his two servants, Goutellard and Müller, who were with the Emperor at his death. These, with Félix, composed the entourage of the Emperor in his private apartment. Félix had charge of a perfect mu-

seum of models and curiosities of all kinds, sent the Emperor from every part of the world.

The Emperor was always an early riser, and by eight o'clock he had shaved himself, and was dressed with English care and neatness, and was joined by the Empress for early tea. At nine, the Emperor went over his correspondence with his secretary, and then gave audiences to his Ministers. After this he passed to the Council Chamber and took his hat, which was always of the d'Orsay pattern, his gloves, and the familiar gold-headed eagle-cane, and went for his morning walk in the Gardens. Leaning on the arm of an aide de camp, he paced slowly back and forth, seldom speaking.

At eleven-thirty, a simple déjeuner was served, with a little light wine; and after this, the formal reception of distinguished strangers took place. About four o'clock the Emperor and Empress went for their afternoon drive, generally to the Bois.

Seven o'clock was the fixed hour for dinner at the Tuileries, and before that time the invited guests assembled in the salon adjoining the dining-room on the first floor. As the Emperor approached with the Empress on his arm, the usher announced their Imperial Majesties, and the doors were thrown open. The Emperor always sat in the middle of the table, with the Empress on his left. The dining-room was known as the Salon Louis Quatorze from a large picture of the "Roi Soleil" in ceremonial attire.

The Imperial dinner parties varied in numbers from twelve to eighteen on ordinary occasions. Jerrold says: "It was a pleasant, intimate circle, and the

Emperor was the gayest of the diners, when his health was fairly good; talking easily and cheerily round the table of the news of the day — but never of people. This was the rule in the dining-room as well as the drawing-room. He had the happy art of saying something to please every guest; of being one of the party and remaining the Emperor always. After dinner the Emperor and Empress led the way back to the drawing-room, where coffee was served while the company chatted. Then he retired to his cabinet downstairs for his cigarette, and very often for some hours of state or literary work. He would sometimes reappear later, at the tea-table, and listen to, rather than engage in, the conversation."

The Emperor as a rule retired very early, generally by ten o'clock. It had always been his habit to lie down, not to sleep, but to think and dream at his ease.

Such was the ordinary home life of the Tuileries under the Second Empire.

Between the years of splendor of the Second Empire and the period of decline, there was one glorious hour when the setting sun of Imperialism shone in all its brilliancy before disappearing forever. This was the year of the Universal Exhibition of 1867.

In the importance of the visitors to Paris, in the number and the brilliancy of the official fêtes, in the diversity of the amusements offered to the crowd, Europe had seen no similar occasion since the great Vienna Congress of 1815. From the first days of February, Paris had begun its preparations to receive

the visitors. Finally the opening day arrived. There was a magnificent assembly of notables in the Palace of Industry. The Emperor presided at the ceremony, in evening dress, with the grand cordon of the Légion d'honneur upon his breast. By his side was the Empress in the full maturity of her charms, and as usual exquisitely gowned and sparkling with jewels.

No one had been overlooked in the official invitations addressed to the European sovereigns, who, however, showed no haste to arrive. Victor Emmanuel had sent word that he was kept at Turin by a serious illness, which however did not prevent him from hunting in the mountains. The Czar was the first to announce his early arrival. As soon as this news was received at the other capitals, every one of the sovereigns hastened his preparations for departure. The King of Prussia set out, bringing with him the two men of his choice, Otto von Bismarck and Count von Moltke.

The most distinguished monarchs were the first to arrive. After them came the Kings of Würtemberg, Bavaria, Belgium, and a multitude of princelings, and last, but not least, in point of interest, the Sultan of Turkey.

To receive the new Czar of Russia, and the new King of Prussia, there had been arranged superb parades of troops and other military spectacles, special performances at the Opéra, and many brilliant ceremonies. The principal figures attracted primarily the public attention. First of all was the Czar, a man of imposing stature, of agreeable, though severe expression, with a great reputation for generosity. It

was reported that he spent the sum of three million francs during his visit. In spite of the popular sympathy for unhappy Poland, he was a great favorite with the Parisians. But if the city received the Czar with warmth, it only extended to William of Prussia a cold courtesy. There was a marked difference in the welcome given to the two sovereigns from the North. The flags of England and of Russia floated from all the windows, but the German colors were rarely seen. With his military carriage, his severe countenance, the King of Prussia won few hearts. It was frequently remarked that William had done well in bringing his aides de camp, as otherwise he would have been rather lonely in the crowd. On the other hand, Bismarck attracted much attention wherever he appeared. It was said afterwards that the Prussians did not lose their time while in Paris, and that, beneath the brilliant surface, they clearly saw the lack of internal organization and the defective state of military preparedness, and that they well used their information three years later.

Paris had never been so animated as during the summer of 1867. Not a day passed without some special entertainment for the visitors. Every night there was a state dinner or a ball. No one thought of anything but pleasure. But everything must have its end, and the time came, only too soon, for the sovereigns to return to their capitals, and resume once more the conduct of affairs.

The fireworks were over. The military bands no longer played the different national airs. All the monarchs had gone home charmed with their visit.

The Emperor was delighted with the success of his entertainment, and flattered himself that another glorious page had been written in the annals of the Imperial dynasty.

Both the Czar and the King of Prussia had brought their Ministers with the idea of discussing some serious political problems, but Napoleon had given them no opportunity. He thought of nothing but pleasure and amusement, and a chance to strengthen international ties was carelessly thrown away.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1860–1870

HOME AFFAIRS

Effect of the Italian War — Damage to the Emperor's Prestige — The English Treaty of Commerce — Opposition of the Protectionists — Religious Agitation — Foundation of the Liberal Empire — Change in the French Navigation Laws — Further Concessions to the Liberals — Growing Strength of the Opposition — Death of Morny — Rise of the Third Party — Wavering Policy of the Emperor — Final Adoption of the Liberal Plan — The Ollivier Ministry — The Nation Approves the Liberal Reforms — Satisfaction of the Emperor

THE history of the Empire, from its foundation in 1852, to 1860, was one of great and uninterrupted success. It was a period of despotic government, more absolute than that of the Czar. The whole government of France was centered in the hands of the Emperor.

The following ten years were to witness the transformation of the Empire from autocracy to liberalism, the rise of a small but vigorous opposition party, a growing demoralization within the State, and a disastrous foreign policy, leading to a final, tragic collapse.

"The turning point in the history of the Empire," says Hazen, "was the Italian war. However beneficial to Italy, that war raised up for Napoleon a host of enemies in France. One of its features had been the attack upon the temporal power of the Papacy. That

power was not overthrown in fact, but it was in principle. The Pope had lost most of his states, the rest were in danger. Catholics were bitter in their denunciation of Napoleon. This was most damaging for him, as his strongest supporters had hitherto been the clergy, the clerical press, and the faithful. But other groups also were offended: monarchists, because of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Naples and the duchies; patriots of various affiliations and members of the liberal constitutional party in Parliament, because they believed the erection of a strong state to the southeast of France prejudicial to her best interests, it being better to have several weak states as neighbors than a single strong one."

The only party in France favorable to the Emperor's Italian policy was the small democratic opposition, and this fact alone should have caused him to hesitate. Even before the commencement of the war a prominent government official had reported to the Emperor that partisans of the Italian war could be found only in those circles which were plotting for the overthrow of the Empire.

By the outcome of the war, the Emperor's prestige both at home and abroad was seriously damaged. After undertaking to "free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic," he had stopped short, in the full tide of victory, and concluded the Treaty of Villafranca, which left Venetia in the hands of Austria. He had then stood supinely by, while the unification of Italy was accomplished. By a policy, alternately so rash and so pusillanimous, his reputation as a ruler of intelligent views and decision of character had

been seriously impaired. By allowing long-established legitimate governments to be overthrown, and by taking Savoy and Nice in payment for his services, he created everywhere in Europe a sentiment of suspicion and hostility, which alienated England, as well as other states, and gave the impression that he was desirous of repeating his uncle's policy of conquest. During the following ten years he was to experience the results of his ill-advised Italian policy.

It was at this time that he offended another powerful interest at home. On the fifth of January 1860 the Emperor addressed to the Minister of State a letter which was intended to prepare the public mind for the commercial treaty which he was secretly preparing, and which he was well aware would meet with the strongest opposition from the French protectionists.

Napoleon dearly loved dramatic strokes. He was getting ready to demand the annexation of Nice and Savoy, which he knew would arouse the jealousy and suspicion of Europe, and like an adroit prestidigitateur he chose this moment to distract the public attention by a clever and timely diversion. In this letter he attempted to reassure people by speaking only of the victories of agriculture, commerce and industry.

The letter of the Emperor was received with enthusiasm by the semi-official press. It broke with routine and opened up new paths for national prosperity, but at the same time it dealt a hard blow to the great French manufacturing interests, who were not at all disposed to accept foreign competition.

Just eighteen days later, 23 January, the Treaty of Commerce between France and England was signed at Paris, by Baroche and Rouher, on the part of France, and Lord Cowley and Richard Cobden for England.

No negotiations had ever been carried on more mysteriously. It was a regular commercial coup d'état, a rude break with the traditions of French policy. Since the time of Colbert, France had lived under a protective policy. Napoleon the First had endeavored to close not only the ports of France, but of all Europe, to English goods. To attain his end, he had deposed his brother from the throne of Holland, and annexed the Low Countries to the Empire, and had undertaken the disastrous Russian campaign.

While a prisoner at Ham, Louis Napoleon had declared himself in favor of free trade. A first attempt, made in 1856, to introduce his ideas in France had been unsuccessful. The bill presented to the Corps Législatif had to be withdrawn. But the Emperor, whose strongest characteristic was tenacity, still clung to his idea, and awaited a more favorable moment.

The chief exponent in France of the principles of free trade was Michel Chevalier. In England, Richard Cobden occupied a like prominence. These two men met at an economic congress at Bradford in 1859, and later Cobden came to Paris where he had several important interviews with the Emperor.

Napoleon, who was convinced that no favorable action could be expected from the Chambers, resolved to take advantage of the powers conferred

upon him by the Constitution and conclude the treaty of his own initiative.

The treaty, which settled for ten years the commercial relations between France and England, was a real revolution in economic matters. The French market for the first time opened wide its doors to English products. Articles formerly prohibited were to be subject to a tax not exceeding thirty per cent on their value. In return, France secured a reduction of duties on wines and spirits and complete exemption from duties on silks and all articles of fancy or fashion.

The treaty was not made public until the tenth of February. It was well received by the classes which it benefited, and was probably advantageous to France as a whole, but it aroused a storm of protest from the manufacturers of iron and textiles. The violent struggle which was thus precipitated between the protectionists and the free-trade party continued through the entire reign, and created many bitter enemies for the Imperial régime.

At the same time that much unrest had been created in material matters by the English Treaty, the Government of the Emperor had to contend with a strong opposition from religious interests. Sir Charles Greville wrote in his Journal, 22 January 1860: "The Emperor must have extraordinary confidence in his personal prestige to defy both the clerical and the protectionist parties at the same time; it will be interesting to see whether events will justify this audacity."

Except for the Roman question, the most complete

harmony would always have existed between the Emperor and the Papacy. From the day that he was a candidate for President of the Republic, Napoleon had had no warmer or more efficient supporters than the clergy of France. Nothing had contributed more to secure him the coöperation of the conservative classes and the approbation of Catholics in all countries. It was no small thing for him to alienate this support, and this was the direct result of his interference in Italian affairs. Since the publication of the pamphlet on "The Pope and the Congress," which had so deeply moved the Holy Father, the religious agitation had been increasing daily.

The effect of the pamphlet was most unfortunate. The Bishops of Orléans and of Poitiers prepared indignant refutations of the brochure. The Pope exhorted the faithful of the entire world to coöperate in defending the rights of the Holy See. In Paris, the "Correspondent" published four articles, treating the question in all its aspects, which produced a real sensation. This journal was warned, and many others were suppressed for their articles on the question. Even Guizot, the most celebrated of Protestants, approved the attitude of the Pope, and for once found himself in complete accord with Thiers.

The efforts of the Imperial Government to arrest the movement were powerless. All the adversaries of the Empire took advantage of the occasion, and awoke to new life; the old parties took new courage. For the rest of his reign the Emperor found himself opposed by a strong coalition of clericals and republicans.

In the "Napoleonic Ideas," the Emperor had outlined his policy of "crowning the edifice" with the cap of liberty as soon as the people were prepared for this change. The first step was taken in the celebrated Decree of 24 November 1860, which in its way was a stroke as dramatic and unexpected as the commercial treaty with England at the beginning of the year.

The Chambers were called upon for the first time to vote a reply to the speech from the throne; ministers without portfolios were instituted to explain and defend the government projects; debates were to be published in full; exercise of the right of amendment was guaranteed to the Corps Législatif.

It was at once evident to far-seeing minds that this system would necessarily result later in ministerial responsibility, and the formation of cabinets, as in England, under the lead of a prime minister. The friends of Imperialism were far from satisfied with the change, and felt that the Emperor was his own worst enemy in unnecessarily creating difficulties and embarrassments which would always go on increasing. In the sovereign's mind it was an honest and loyal experiment, which would determine him either to limit the reforms or go on with their development. The only result of the concessions was to put new and powerful weapons into the hands of the constantly increasing band of his enemies.

By the year 1860, the Emperor had thus succeeded in offending large and influencial classes at home: the Catholics, by his Italian policy, and the manufacturers by his treaty of commerce, which it was

claimed subordinated French interests to English, as the war had sacrificed the welfare of France for that of Italy.

He now negotiated with England a change in the French navigation law, which while beneficial as a whole to his country, was violently opposed by French ship-owners, who were influential enough to obtain a modification of the decree, which nullified the law in many respects. In March 1860, a motion had been carried in the House of Commons for an address to the Queen to enter into negotiations with the Emperor with a view of making a treaty "for the reciprocal abrogation of all discriminating duties levied upon the vessels and their cargoes of either of the two nations in the ports of the other."

Mr. W. L. Lindsay, the author of this motion, nine months later was sent to Paris by Lord Russell to urge the French Government to pass such measures.

Mr. Lindsay, after several interviews with the Emperor, was successful in impressing him with the importance of the subject. In May 1862, a report drawn up by Monsieur Rouher, relative to the state of the French Mercantile Marine, was published in the "Moniteur." Radical changes were suggested, but these were not authorized by the Chambers until four years later. In 1872, Monsieur Thiers, then President of the Republic, under a threat of resignation, persuaded the Assembly to reverse much of the law of 1866, but, in July 1873, two months after his resignation, the Assembly retraced its steps. Thus foreign vessels, as decreed by the Emperor, are now

placed in French ports upon the same footing as those of France.

In November 1860, the Emperor, feeling that he was losing strength with the Catholic and Conservative elements, had begun to seek the support of the Liberals, previously his most bitter opponents. By the decree of the 24 November he had entered upon the work of "crowning the edifice" which he had declared to be the ideal of the Napoleonic system.

After the great humiliation of the Mexican war, and his loss of prestige in Europe through the sudden rise of Prussia, Napoleon felt the need of new sources of strength, and, in 1868, he turned again to the Liberals with still greater concessions. At the beginning of his reign, he had declared that autocratic power was only provisional, but notwithstanding the liberal changes which he had already decreed, the system of 1852 was still practically in full force. Prematurely old, and suffering acutely from disease, he no longer felt able to carry alone the responsibility of the government. In 1867, the right was granted the Chamber to question the Ministers concerning their acts and policies. The following year, many of the restrictions were removed from the press, and the right of public meetings was granted, subject to certain restrictions.

The Empire had thus at last entered upon a frankly liberal policy. The result was greatly to weaken, instead of to strengthen it. It gave increased power to the growing Republican party, which made use of the liberal concessions made by the Emperor bitterly to attack the whole Imperial régime, which, it was

evident, they were determined to annihilate completely.

It was in the midst of these assaults on the Imperial Government that the Duc de Morny died. Since 1854 he had been the President of the Corps Législatif. He was liberal in his principles, and the changes in the government had met with his approval. The splendor in which he lived at the Palais Bourbon had aroused the wrath of the Republicans, but his courtly manners and his impartiality as presiding officer made him a general favorite, regardless of parties. His commanding intellectual resources would have given him a high place among French statesmen had not his public services been tarnished by his private vices.

The Emperor spent part of the last night by the dying man's bedside. Although, of late years, their relations had frequently been strained by the imprudence of the Duc's speculations in the Bourse, at the end, Napoleon could only remember the brilliant gifts, and the courageous and loyal heart, of his steadfast associate during the critical days of the coup d'état.

Alphonse Daudet in speaking of the death of the Duc de Mora (Morny) in "Le Nabab" says:

"He was the most brilliant incarnation of the Empire. What one sees of an edifice from afar is not the solid base, the architectural mass, it is the delicate, golden spire, added for the satisfaction of the coup d'œil. What one saw of the Empire in France, and in all Europe, was Mora (Morny). When he disappeared, the monument was stripped of all its elegance."

Between the out-and-out supporters of the Empire, and the Republicans, its bitter opponents, there arose at this time the so-called Third Party, headed by Ollivier, a former Republican. This Party was willing to support the Empire, if Napoleon would make it completely liberal, that is to say, adopt the English system of parliamentary government with a responsible ministry, in place of personal rule.

For a time, the Emperor wavered between the two policies which were urged upon him: one, a return to the earlier dictatorship, advocated by the Imperialists; the other, the plan of even greater liberality advocated by the Third Party. The election of 1869, in which only four votes on the average were cast for the official candidates as compared with three votes for the opposition, decided Napoleon to adopt the plan of the Third Party. By a *Senatus Consultum* of September 1869, supplemented by another of April 1870, the political system of the Empire was radically changed. The Corps Législatif was given the right to choose its own officers, make its own rules, initiate legislation, and demand explanations of the ministers, who were made responsible. On the second of January 1870, Ollivier was made head of the ministry, and was supported by a majority in the Chamber. Ollivier told the Emperor that he could assure him a "happy old age," and his son a quiet succession to the throne.

Napoleon, in accordance with his custom, now sought the approval of the nation to the new Constitution, which had been so profoundly altered during the past ten years. He believed that the popular vote would once more consolidate his power, and

put him in a position to dominate easily the hostile element which had lately become so aggressive. The people were asked to vote on the proposition: "The French nation approves the liberal reforms made in the Constitution since 1860, and ratifies the *Senatus Consultum* of the 20 April 1870." Following this was printed the Constitution in full, assuring among other things the transmission of the Imperial dignity in the direct line of Napoleon the Third.

The plébiscite took place the 8 May 1870, and resulted in an overwhelming vote in favor of the Empire; nearly seven and a half millions voted yes, only a million and a half voted no. The Emperor could claim that he had lost no supporters since the day that the Empire was approved eighteen years before. The Empire seemed solidly reëstablished in the confidence of the country, and the Republican party absolutely discredited, yet its triumph was near. In less than three months the Empire entered upon the Prussian war, in the midst of which it utterly collapsed, and was succeeded by the Third Republic, which after fifty years, to-day, seems stronger than ever.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

1860–1866

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Syrian Massacres — Napoleon's Letter to Palmerston — Limited Results of the Expedition — The Chinese War — — The French and English Forces — Battle of Palikao — Destruction of the Summer Palace — Treaty of Pekin — The Mexican War — Ulterior Plans of Napoleon — The Mexican Empire — Maxmilian and Carlotta — Withdrawal of the French Army — Execution of Maximilian — Blow to Napoleon's Prestige — Plans for German Unity — Rise of Bismarck — The Schleswig-Holstein Question — The Biarritz Conference — The Italian Alliance — The Seven Weeks' War — Victory of Sadowa — North German Confederation

AT the time the clergy were condemning the Emperor's attitude regarding the Church, it pleased him to renew the Crusades, by sending his troops to the aid of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire. This act immediately aroused the jealous susceptibilities of England. It is not easy now to understand the change in the feelings of Queen Victoria regarding her close ally in the Crimea, of whom she spoke and wrote in such friendly terms only a few years before. It was probably due to the influence of her consort, Prince Albert, who was always a German at heart, and who had undoubtedly been affected by the German propaganda which was already working to undermine the immense prestige of the Emperor. He was regarded as the greatest foe of

German unity, and it was a part of the plan of Bismarck to remove this obstacle from his path. Hence no stone was left unturned to detach Napoleon from his former allies, and to arouse against him the enmity of the South German States.

The sending of French troops to Syria was regarded in London as a mere cover to designs for conquest in the East, and for a future attack upon England's Indian Empire.

Napoleon had not the slightest desire of acting alone in Syria, and had instructed Persigny, his Ambassador at London, to secure the coöperation of the English Government. He wrote: "Tell Lord Palmerston from me that since the Peace of Villafranca I have had but one thought, one end in view, namely, to inaugurate a new era of peace, and live on good terms with my neighbors, and especially with England. I had given up Savoy and Nice, and the only thing that revived my wish to see provinces essentially French restored to France was the extraordinary growth of Piedmont."

He then referred to the massacres in Syria, which had filled him with indignation, and continued: "All the same, my first thought was to act with England. What interest save that of humanity could induce me to send troops into that country? Could the possession of it possibly increase my power?"

In conclusion the Emperor expressed his desire to come to terms with England, not only in Syria, but in Italy. "It has been difficult for me," he said, "to agree with England in reference to Central Italy, because I was bound by the Treaty of Villafranca;

as to southern Italy, I am unpledged, and I ask nothing better than to act with England on that point as on others; but for Heaven's sake, let the eminent men at the head of the English Government lay aside mean jealousies and unjust suspicions. Let us come to a loyal understanding like the honest men we are and not act like thieves who want to cheat each other. I desire that Italy may be appeased, no matter how, but without foreign intervention, and that my troops may leave Rome without endangering the safety of the Pope."

This remarkably clever letter created a great sensation when published in the English press. Napoleon attained his ends. The five Great Powers and the Porte, in conference at Paris, came to an agreement on all points. It was arranged that a body of 12,000 troops should be sent to Syria, of which number the French Government undertook to provide at once the moiety.

The Syrian expeditionary corps, of some six thousand men, embarked at Marseille, and landed at Beyrout on the 16 August. Owing to lack of coöperation on the part of the Turkish forces, the chief result aimed at by the expedition was completely missed, and the Druses, who were responsible for the massacres, were allowed to escape through the Turkish lines just when they were supposed to be surrounded on all sides. After this the French resolved to act alone.

Although the military results of the expedition were very limited, in a humanitarian way great good was accomplished. Under the shelter of the

French flag, houses were rebuilt, villages repopulated and confidence restored. Food and seed-corn were distributed and building materials furnished. The French soldiers were acclaimed as liberators and saviours.

In 1860, a French corps, under General de Montauban, successfully carried out in the Farthest East an enterprise which rivalled the famous exploits of Cortez and Pizarro in the New World.

The causes of conflict in China dated back for several years. In 1855, a French missionary had been tortured and put to death. The following year a small vessel carrying the British flag had been captured by the Chinese. In 1857, the fleets of France and England bombarded Canton, and, in 1858, forced the defences of the river Pei-Ho and sailed up the stream to a point about a hundred miles from Pekin. China decided to come to terms and a very favorable treaty was negotiated.

The following year when the ministers of France and England were on their way to Pekin to exchange the ratifications of the treaty, their vessel was fired on at the mouth of the river and many of their escort were disabled. Such an outrage could not go unpunished, and after active negotiations extending over two months, it was decided to send a joint French and English expeditionary force, of some 30,000 men, to wreak a signal vengeance on the Chinese.

Trochu, who had distinguished himself at Solferino, having declined the chief command, at the suggestion of Fleury, it was given to Montauban. This general, born in 1796, retained at the age of

sixty-three all the vigor of youth. He was not only a brilliant soldier but also a skilled diplomatist.

The French corps embarked at Toulon in December 1859 and sailed for China by the long route around Cape Good Hope, while the general and his staff left a month later by way of Egypt, and reached Hong-Kong early in March, before the arrival of the troops.

After reducing the forts at the mouth of the river the first week in August, the Allies resumed their march on Pekin, overcoming a formidable resistance all the way. Early in September they reached the large city of Tung-Chau only four leagues from Pekin, and connected with that city by a road built by former dynasties. At the village of Palikao this road crosses the canal by means of a solid stone bridge with large arches. Beyond this bridge, on ground long studied and made ready in advance, was drawn up the Chinese army of over 50,000 men. To oppose this large force the Allies had only 10,000 troops, about half French and half English. The battle began at seven o'clock in the morning, and by noon-day resulted in the complete defeat of the Chinese. For this victory Montauban received the grand cross of the Légion d'honneur, a seat in the Senate and the title of Comte de Palikao.

The results of the battle bordered on the miraculous. Only three French and two English were killed, and less than fifty were wounded in the two armies.

After a delay of two weeks, to bring up food and ammunition, the Allies on the fifth of October resumed their march on Pekin. Learning that the Tartar

army had withdrawn in the direction of the Summer Palace, a magnificent imperial residence some kilometres to the northwest of the capital, they decided to pursue it. Crossing a magnificent bridge thrown over the canal, they advanced by a road paved with granite to an esplanade much resembling the Place d'Armes at Versailles. Just beyond was the famous Summer Palace, the favorite residence of the Emperor, and surpassing in splendor any dreams of the imagination. In his report, the French commander said that it was impossible to describe the magnificence of the numerous buildings of white marble filled with curiosities of all kinds, in gold, silver and bronze, the accumulations of centuries.

The park, surrounded by lofty walls nearly nine miles in length, was not less extraordinary than the palace.

On the arrival of the English, a division of the booty was made between the allied chiefs. A selection of the most remarkable objects, which was sent to the Emperor, was afterwards exhibited in the palace of Fontainebleau in a room known as the Chinese Museum. A similar collection was sent to Queen Victoria.

On the 9 October the Allies left the Summer Palace and turned towards Pekin. Having learned of the horrible manner in which some French and English captives had been tortured and put to death by the Chinese, the English Commissioner, Lord Elgin, ordered the Summer Palace razed to the ground and burned. This hastened the conclusion of the peace, as the Chinese feared the destruction of their capital.

By the Treaty of Pekin an indemnity of sixty million francs was paid to France, and as much to England. Important religious and commercial privileges were granted throughout the Empire.

The Allied Army left Pekin on the first of November, to return to Europe after one of the most marvelous expeditions recorded in history.

In October 1861, France, England and Spain signed a treaty at London agreeing to send a joint expedition to Mexico for the purpose of obtaining reparation for certain grievances which these three powers had against Mexico, for the unjust treatment of their citizens resident there, and to secure the payment of interest, which the Mexican Government had suspended, on bonds held abroad.

The Liberals, the partisans of Juarez, had confiscated the lands and property of the clergy, which were of very great value, and one of the principal objects of the Mexican Expedition, on the part of France, was to recover and restore these to their rightful owners. This was a factor much more important than the recovery of the money due from Mexico to French investors, as it was believed that it would decidely ease the strained relations between the Vatican and the Tuileries due to the results of the war of Italian Independence.

The expedition which was sent out arrived in Mexico in December and January, and by April 1862 had practically accomplished its purpose. England and Spain then withdrew, but it was clear by this time that France had other objects in view.

Napoleon's real intentions were apparently to overthrow the Republic, of which Juarez was President, and to establish a monarchy under a European prince. At the instigation of the Empress and the Catholic party in France, Napoleon had embarked on another enterprise, the most unnecessary, the most reckless, and, in the end, the most disastrous of his reign. He undertook to erect an empire five thousand miles away, in a country of which he knew but little, whose political institutions for half a century had been in a state of flux. This enterprise was to prove as costly and as disastrous to France as the equally dishonorable invasion of Spain by the First Emperor.

While a prisoner at Ham, Napoleon had written a pamphlet on the subject of a canal at Nicaragua to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific. The subject had then taken possession of his imagination and he had never forgotten it. He had dreamed of a new Constantinople to arise in the Western World, to be the seat of a great Latin Empire which should hold in check the Anglo-Saxon element. The theory of nationalities would thus win another victory. By the expedition he might also win back the favor of the Catholic Church which had a grievance against the Mexican Government for its action in sequestering the property of the Church.

An assembly representing only a small fraction of the Mexican people was called together by the French commander, and a decree was passed declaring Mexico an empire, and offering the crown to Archduke Maximilian of Austria, a brother of the Emperor

Francis Joseph. Influenced by his own ambition and that of his spirited wife, Carlotta, daughter of Leopold the First of Belgium, he accepted the crown, and arrived in Mexico in May 1864.

The entire project was hopeless from the start, disastrous alike to the new sovereigns and to Napoleon. When the Civil War was ended in April 1865, the United States, which considered the whole affair as a flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine, threatened intervention. General Webb, of New York, who was in Paris at the time, took the matter up with the Emperor, and Napoleon agreed to withdraw his troops. Carlotta went to Europe to beg the Emperor to reconsider his decision, and, on his refusal, became insane. The Empire of Mexico could not long endure without the support of French bayonets. Maximilian was taken prisoner, and shot by the Mexicans 19 June 1867. So vanished Napoleon's phantom empire across the seas.

It was a most expensive enterprise for the French Emperor. It had prevented his playing a part in the decisive events in Europe during the years 1864 to 1866, which saw the rise of the powerful and aggressive military organization of Prussia. The French military reverses in 1862, the first of his reign, and the tragic end of Maximilian, whom he had left to his fate, had seriously damaged his prestige in Europe. Without any benefit to France, he had recklessly squandered his military and financial resources.

The war of 1859 and the establishment of Italian unity exerted a remarkable influence outside of the

Peninsula, and nowhere more than in Germany. Here was a successful application of the principle of nationalities. What had been accomplished in Italy was also possible in Germany. A new patriotic society was formed in Hungary, called the National Union, whose object was to "achieve the unity of the fatherland and the development of its liberties." This society soon spread throughout Germany. Its purpose was to secure a thorough military reorganization of Germany as a safeguard against external aggression. If Napoleon could invade Italy, he might just as easily turn his arms against Germany. William of Prussia and Bismarck ought to do for Germany what Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont and Cavour had done for Italy. Through the war of 1870, German unity was brought about, but it was along autocratic lines, and not, as in the case of Italy, by a liberal movement. Bismarck was a very different character from Cavour.

In January 1861, Frederick William the Fourth of Prussia died, and was succeeded by his brother William, who had been acting as Regent for four years. He was a son of the famous Queen Louisa, was born in 1797, and had seen his first military service in the campaign of 1814 against Napoleon. In character, he was slow, solid, persistent and firm, rather than brilliant or intellectual. His entire life had been spent in the army, to which he was devoted, and his first act was to strengthen the military organization of Prussia.

Prussia, in 1814, had been the first state, and was thus far the only one, to adopt the principle of uni-

versal military service. But the system had not been thoroughly carried out, and the size of the army had not kept pace with the growth of the population. William had appointed Roon Minister of War in 1859, and the following year a plan was submitted to the Prussian Parliament for a thorough reorganization of the army, and the rigorous enforcement of universal military service, which would at once double the size of the Prussian army. Parliament, however, refused to make the necessary appropriations, and a deadlock ensued. The King would not abandon his plans, and even thought of abdicating. As a last resort he decided to call to the ministry a man noted for his force, and his devotion to the monarchy, Otto von Bismarck. He was made President of the Ministry 23 September 1862, and on that day began a new era for Prussia and the world.

Bismarck told the King that he would carry out his policy whether the Deputies agreed to it or not. The King tore up his abdication and the struggle went on. For four years the Lower House refused to pass the budget, and the King continued to collect the taxes, and carry out his reorganization of the army. The period was one of virtual dictatorship.

But in Bismarck's eyes, the army was only a means to an end, and that end was German unity, which he believed could only be secured by war. There was to be no absorption of Prussia by Germany, as Piedmont had been merged in the Kingdom of Italy, entirely disappearing as a separate state. Unity was to be created by Prussia, and for the advantage of Prussia. In the most famous speech of his life, in 1863, Bis-

marck declared that the great questions of the day would be decided not by speeches and majority votes but "by blood and iron."

Ignoring the criticisms of the Liberals, Bismarck went on his way, and proceeded to reshape Europe in accordance with his plans. Like the Great Napoleon he was favored in this by the jealousies of the Great Powers and the general incompetence of their ministers. His own ability, great as it was, would not alone have sufficed to accomplish the work of the next few years.

"The German Empire," says Hazen, "was the result of the policy of blood and iron as carried out by Prussia in three wars which were crowded into the brief period of six years, the war with Denmark in 1864, with Austria in 1866, and with France in 1870, the last two of which were largely the result of his will, and his diplomatic ingenuity and unscrupulousness, and the first of which he exploited consummately for the advantage of Prussia."

It does not fall within the scope of this narrative to describe the first of these wars, which grew out of one of the most complicated questions that ever perplexed statesmen, the "affair of the duchies," Schleswig and Holstein. As one of the results of the Great War, the wrong done to Denmark by Prussia in the forcible annexation of the two duchies has in 1920 been at least in part rectified by the plébiscite under which the northern part of Schleswig returns to Denmark, while the southern part, and Holstein, remain German. The action of Prussia was in direct contravention to Napoleon's famous doctrine of na-

tionalities, but he failed to intervene. A conference was held at London, for the purpose of arranging a settlement by diplomacy, but nothing was accomplished. Russia was grateful for Prussian aid in the recent Polish insurrection, and France and England were unable to agree upon any policy.

Out of the settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein affair, as arranged between Prussia and Austria by the Treaty of Gastein, there was created a situation which Bismarck hoped would result in a war between the two countries. He had desired this war for ten years, as being the only means by which Prussia could assume the dominating position in German affairs—the first step towards German unity. In this he was successful within a year.

There was not room in Germany for two first-class powers, and either Austria or Prussia must bend the knee. Bismarck's first care was to assure the isolation of Austria in the coming conflict. The attitude of France he considered most important. He therefore, in October 1865, sought an interview with the Emperor at Biarritz in southern France. This meeting has sometimes been described, although incorrectly, as bearing the same relation to German unity as the conference at Plombières to Italian independence. What actually occurred is not known even to-day. There seems to have been no formal agreement, but Bismarck apparently held out the hope to Napoleon that, in case of a Prussian victory, and any increase of territory, France would receive compensation for its neutrality by the annexation of Luxembourg and some of the Catholic German states along the Rhine.

Napoleon was too honest to deal with such an adroit trickster as Bismarck, and seems to have been completely duped. Whatever the understanding may have been, Bismarck returned to Berlin with the conviction that France would remain neutral in case of war between Prussia and Austria.

Bismarck's next step was to negotiate a treaty of alliance with Italy. After several months of diplomatic maneuvers a treaty was finally signed in April 1866 which provided that in case Prussia went to war with Austria during the next three months, Italy should also declare war, and that if the Allies were successful Italy should receive Venetia, and Prussia an equivalent amount of Austrian territory.

As soon as this treaty was signed, Bismarck devoted all his energies to bringing about the war with Austria. This was not difficult, but there was a delay of several weeks before hostilities actually began, as he was waiting for some act of provocation to come from Austria so that he could throw upon her the odium of beginning this conflict between two German nations. At last the moment came and the German civil war began. It proved to be one of the shortest and most decisive in history. It began on the 16 June 1866, and was virtually decided by the brilliant victory of Sadowa on the 3 July, although hostilities continued until the signing of the preliminary Peace of Nikolsburg on 26 July. It is therefore called the Seven Weeks' War.

The rapidity of the campaign and the overwhelming superiority of Prussia struck Europe with amazement. No one was more surprised than the Emperor

Napoleon. He had expected a long war, exhausting to both parties, with a final victory for Austria, and was laying his plans to step in at the decisive moment and secure the reward of his friendly services in bringing the conflict to an end.

Bismarck, who feared the intervention of France, which might rob the victory of its fruits, wished to make peace at once, and preclude any chance of intervention. He therefore proposed terms very lenient to Austria. His moderation, according to the account which he gives in his memoirs, was very bitterly opposed by the military party, but he finally carried the day. Austria ceded Venetia to Italy, but lost no other territory. She paid a small indemnity, and withdrew from the German Confederation, which ceased to exist. A new confederation was formed of the states north of the river Main.

Prussia took her compensation from those German states which had fought on the side of Austria in the war. Hanover, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, the free city of Frankfort, as well as Schleswig and Holstein, were incorporated in the Prussian Kingdom, which was thereby increased about one-quarter in area and in population. No opportunity was given the people of these states to vote on the question of annexation as had been done in Italy, and in Savoy and Nice. They were annexed by right of military conquest. By orders from Berlin, reigning houses ceased to rule. The balance of power and the map of Europe were changed without a single protest being made.

Napoleon was not in a position to intervene, even if he had had the time. With many of his best troops

involved in the Mexican expedition, he was unable to mobilize even two army corps on the Rhine. The Czar proposed a congress to settle the terms of peace, but Bismarck assumed so hostile an attitude that the matter was dropped.

The new North German Confederation, which was now formed, included two Kingdoms, Prussia and Saxony, and twenty smaller states. The armies of the several states were reorganized on the Prussian model. King William, as President of the Confederation, now commanded a force of 800,000 men. The South German states, Bavaria, Würtemberg and Baden, were induced by Bismarck, through playing on their fears of France, to enter into a defensive military alliance with the Confederation. This increased the army to over a million men. Against this powerful organization France could only put 350,000 men in line of battle. The European nations were to repent most bitterly at a later day the fatuity with which they allowed the swift consummation of these changes.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

1860–1870

DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

Incapacity of the Government in External Affairs — The Peace of Villafranca — The Mexican War — The Rise of Prussia — Alienation of the Church of Rome — Meddling of the Empress — The Affair of Schleswig-Holstein — The Seven Weeks' War — Army Reorganization — Napoleon's Lassitude — His Poor Health — Reasons for the Constitutional Changes — The Popular Approval — Negative Votes of the Army — The Hohenzollern Candidature — The Famous Ems Dispatch — Bismarck's Duplicity — France Declares War

IN 1860 Napoleon had made France rich beyond any nation in Europe, and Paris was without rival among the capitals of the world. But all the benefits which he had conferred upon his country were destined to be neutralized, during the last ten years of his reign, by the notorious incapacity of his Government in external affairs.

There was a period of modern history when France, under Napoleon, occupied without question the foremost position in Europe. She was envied, respected and feared by every other nation. In the years immediately following the Crimean War this preëminence was acknowledged, or tacitly accepted, by all the other Powers. At this time Bismarck, and his master the King of Prussia, so far from attempting to overawe Europe, meekly solicited from the Emperor of

the French the privilege of sending a representative to the Congress of Paris. At the same time, Austria, the rival of Prussia for supremacy in Germany, was anxiously seeking for an expression of his good-will.

The first grave blow to the prestige of the French Empire was inflicted by the Truce of Villafranca, when Napoleon, in the full tide of success, suddenly paused, upon a threat of Prussian intervention, and concluded a peace which was visibly imposed upon him.

The withdrawal of his troops from Mexico, when the victorious American army was mobilized upon the Rio Grande at the close of the Civil War, and the ruin of the ambitious project which he had formed of founding a great Catholic Empire across the seas, also sensibly contributed to lessen the popular impression of his power. Deeply involved in this unfortunate Mexican affair, with many of his best generals and soldiers thousands of miles from home, he was unable to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the Seven Weeks' War to recover his lost prestige; and the sudden and unexpected collapse of Austria, after the Prussian victory of Sadowa, ended his last chance of curbing the rising power of the Hohenzollern monarchy.

Another blow to his supremacy was given by his fruitless efforts to secure from the wily Bismarck, by diplomacy, the advantages which he had failed to demand by force. By his requests for compensation on the side of Luxembourg, or along the left bank of the Rhine, he simply played into the hands of the great Prussian Minister, who at the decisive

moment published the details of these negotiations and assured the support of the South German States in the war of 1870, while at the same time alienating the sympathy, and securing the neutrality, of England and the other Great Powers.

For the satisfaction of intervening in the affairs of Europe, even where he was not directly interested, he engaged in many unnecessary undertakings in which he dissipated his resources without any compensating advantages. Such was the unfortunate Roman affair. By his participation in the war of Italian Independence he lost the suffrage of a million or two of his Catholic subjects, who had previously been his strongest supporters, and then by attempting to preserve the remnant of the temporal power of the Papacy, he alienated the great majority of the Italian people, and forfeited the feeling of gratitude for what he had done, without, on the other hand, regaining the support of the Church. To the end of his reign, he was destined to feel the unfortunate effect of this double-faced policy. There is much evidence that Napoleon fully realized the mistake he had made, and that on several occasions he had practically decided to recall his troops from Rome, but was dissuaded from his purpose by the vehement protests of the Empress, who warmly pleaded the cause of the Holy Father. So Napoleon, partly from dislike of withdrawing from an undertaking which he had begun, more perhaps from the desire of keeping peace in his family, sufficiently troubled already by his notorious infidelities, yielded to the ardent wishes of his spouse.

At this point it becomes necessary to speak frankly

of a subject which many writers ignore, for in no other way is it possible to understand clearly the external policies of Napoleon during the last ten years of his reign.

All his life, he had been particularly susceptible to the charms of women, and the Empress Eugénie had much cause for complaint on this score. For his wife he displayed at all times a very warm attachment and a very sincere admiration. This is shown in the familiar letters which he wrote her during the few periods of their separation, and in his wish to associate her with himself on every occasion of parade or of ceremony.

With the First Napoleon, acts of gallantry were rare and distant, and never in any way or at any time interfered with affairs of state or war. With the nephew, on the other hand, such acts were continual. Over and over again he promised to trouble no longer the tranquillity of the Empress, only to yield again to temptation.

Inconstancy was a tradition in the family, and unfortunately for Napoleon the Third, to the tendencies of the Bonapartes was joined the warm Creole blood which Hortense had inherited from her mother Josephine.

An interesting incident is told as illustrating this family trait: the history of a certain médaillon. It was a superb ornament which had belonged to the First Emperor, and which bore on one of its faces the portrait of Marie-Louise. In some manner which is not explained, this médaillon had come into the possession of Prince Demidoff at Florence. One day a

servant in dusting the precious article moved the glass covering, which became detached, revealing the fact that beneath the miniature of the Empress there was another, of Madame Walewska, and below that, still a third, of Mademoiselle Georges. A very nest of Imperial loves was enclosed in the same médaillon. The Third Napoleon would certainly have found much difficulty in enclosing in a single case even a small selection of his numerous charmers.

There is every reason to believe that up to the last moment Napoleon had no idea of placing Mademoiselle de Montijo by his side on the Imperial throne. There is a French proverb which bids men to beware of the young girl who has had a travelling trunk for a cradle, and a table d'hôte for a finishing school. For ten years, Madame de Montijo and her daughter had travelled from one European resort to another in search of the ever elusive husband. The fame of Eugénie's beauty had spread through many lands, but, though many sought the pleasure of her society, none aspired to the honor of her hand. The Countess and her daughter had persistently disregarded the last of the three precepts laid down by Beaumarchais for woman's guidance: "Sois belle si tu peux, sage si tu veux, mais sois considérée, il le faut." They had failed to inspire respect, and if Napoleon considered Mademoiselle de Montijo in the light of a consort it was "de la main gauche." But the Countess and her daughter were playing for higher stakes, and the infatuated monarch was soon given to understand that the way to Eugénie's heart lay "through the Chapel."

Fascinated by the mature charms of the lovely Spaniard, who had long since "coiffée Sainte-Cathérine," charmed with the grace and spirit of her letters, which were composed for her by Prosper Mérimée, disappointed at the failure of all his matrimonial overtures to the European Courts, Napoleon suddenly decided to startle the world by one of those dramatic strokes so dear to his heart, and announced his approaching marriage to Eugénie. A week later, the ceremony was performed.

In its disastrous effects upon the future of the Imperial dynasty, this was the worst of the many steps taken by the Emperor without stopping to consider fully the consequences. Eugénie was a woman of small natural intelligence, of very limited and superficial education, not only a devout but a bigoted Catholic, and her constant meddling in the external affairs of France, especially where the interests of the Papacy were even remotely concerned, led to the most deplorable results.

In the interests of conjugal peace, and to satisfy the insistent demands of the Empress, during the latter part of his reign Napoleon gave Eugénie a greater and greater part in public affairs. Matters came to such a point that she attended, at first only occasionally, but towards the end, regularly, the Council of Ministers at the Tuileries, and took an active part in the discussions. She had urged the first war of the Empire, against Russia, because she desired to secure in Queen Victoria a social sponsor whom she badly needed. To the war of Italian Independence she was violently opposed, as she feared

the result on the temporal power of the Papacy. Later, she insisted on keeping the French troops in Rome, and thereby alienated from France her warmest friend and ally. She heartily approved of the unfortunate Mexican Expedition; and after England and Spain had withdrawn from the enterprise, she advocated the policy of keeping the French troops in Mexico, for the purpose of founding a Catholic Empire across the seas. The final disastrous war against Prussia, which she called "ma guerre à moi," she precipitated for the purpose of saving the tottering throne of her husband for her son the Prince Imperial.

It has been claimed in defence of the Empress that she was ignorant of the dangerous state of the Emperor's health and did not know of the consultation held at Saint-Cloud the first day of July 1870; but if she had any powers of observation at all, she must have been struck, like every one else, with the haggard appearance of the Emperor as he walked by her side along the platform of the private station in the park to take his seat in the train, the day he left for the front. The disastrous results of her interference in the operations of the campaign will be spoken of later.

Napoleon, all his life, was a firm believer in the principle of nationalities, or the right of every people to determine its own destiny, which has received such general recognition as one of the results of the Great War, which has just convulsed the world. In this respect he was in advance of public opinion in every country of Europe, and his attempts in this direction

in the end were turned fatally against him. Such was the Italian war, undertaken to free the Peninsula from the yoke of Austria, in which he was compelled to stop short before the undisguised menace of the Prussian corps upon the Rhine.

Later, in 1863, in obedience to the same sentiment, he gave his moral, if not his material support, to the Poles who had risen against the oppression of Russia. The insurrection failed, and he only succeeded in offending the Czar, without helping the rebels. Once more he had been moved by sentiment, while Bismarck seized the occasion to take the side of force, and thereby won the gratitude of the Czar, and alienated his sympathy from France. The result was to appear a few years later, when France looked in vain for support against the German menace.

In 1864, without protest, he allowed Prussia and Austria to take possession of Schleswig-Holstein, and two years later he stood by impotently while Prussia crushed her former ally in the short Seven Weeks' War.

At the same time that the Imperial Government was losing prestige abroad, it was having great difficulties at home. The opposition, still small in numbers, but strong in ability, had taken full advantage of the new freedom granted the Chambers and the press, and was making its voice heard. In the vain hope of regaining at least in part the popularity which he had lost by his weak foreign policy, the Emperor had abandoned to the Corps Législatif a part of his authority, and had laid the foundations of the "Liberal Empire."

Even before the Italian war the Emperor had fully realized the necessity of a complete reorganization of the French army and the adoption of the principle of universal military service. On several occasions the project was submitted to the Chambers, but no action was taken. France, like England before the Great War, was absorbed in the pursuit of wealth, and blind to the danger of aggression from the great military power of Germany. That Napoleon had ample warning of his danger is shown by reports found later among the archives of the Tuileries, reports from French agents in all the capitals of Europe, as well as repeated letters of advice from Queen Sophie of Holland, an able woman, who was better informed regarding European affairs than most of the diplomats.

In 1866 General Ducrot wrote to General Trochu that on the other side of the Rhine there was not a German who did not believe in an approaching war with France.

The debate on the army bill of 1869 lasted two days: the first and second of July. The reduction of the army was justified by the Prime Minister, Monsieur Ollivier, who said, "The Government has no uneasiness whatever; at no epoch was the peace of Europe more assured. Irritating questions there are none." In the House of Lords, Lord Granville about the same time described foreign affairs as in a "dead calm." In the course of the debate in the French Chamber, Thiers remarked with singular fatuity: "Prussia requires to be pacific in order to win over Southern Germany. We need to be pacific

in order to prevent her." At the moment these words were spoken, the man of "blood and iron," in the quiet of his cabinet, was preparing to spring upon an unsuspecting Europe the candidacy of the Prince of Hohenzollern, and to accomplish the unity of Germany, not by pacific measures, but by one of the most unnecessary wars in the history of Europe.

And yet the Emperor had shown only pacific and friendly intentions towards Prussia from the beginning of his reign. Faithful to his idea of nationalities, he had rather favored than opposed German unification. His sympathies had always rather inclined towards the race which was destined to overthrow him. Prussia, however, had always been secretly jealous of France and her preëminence in Europe, and covertly hostile towards the Emperor. While Napoleon was credulous, Bismarck was unscrupulous; he lost no opportunity of arousing the Prussian spirit of antagonism to France.

Several times the Emperor appealed to the country and, by the voice of his Minister of War, Marshal Niel, tried to arouse the patriotism of the Chambers and persuade them to take the necessary steps to provide for the national defence. But he only met with a blind opposition, which refused to see any danger in the political situation, and called for a reduction rather than an increase in the army. Napoleon, who had abandoned much of his former autocratic power, was no longer in a position to insist, and, worn out mentally and physically, he abandoned the struggle and allowed the Ship of State to drift slowly upon the rocks. The day had passed, when,

full of strength and courage, he acted without awaiting the counsel of ministers and inspired respect and fear on all sides. He was overcome by lassitude both physical and moral. His former vigor, and tenacity of purpose, had been weakened by the ravages of a most painful disease, and he no longer possessed the capacity of decision and command, which in the past had brushed aside all obstacles. He had allowed the Empress to take a greater and greater part in the councils of the Government and to commit him to actions and policies directly opposed to the true interests of his country and his dynasty. It was only too evident to all observers that he was no longer the master in his own house. The situation was further aggravated by the divergent opinions of the Empress, of Rouher and of Prince Napoleon, and personal rivalries added to the difficulties of contradictory views. The government no longer had a single guiding force, and, under such conditions, disaster was inevitable. A firm and experienced hand at the helm was never so necessary as during this critical period of modern European history.

Very few people knew of the state of the Emperor's health, and realized the condition of moral apathy which it had caused. He concealed his pain and never made any complaints, but he had almost entirely lost the combative faculty and the power of resistance which had carried him triumphantly through the trying days of the coup d'état. It is impossible to understand clearly the decline of the French Empire in the ten years immediately preceding the Franco-Prussian war without taking into consideration the

state of Napoleon's health, of which the world was generally ignorant at the time, and which even since then has been generally ignored by his historians.

Many reasons had combined to lead him to give to France a constitutional régime: the sincere desire of "crowning the edifice," of which he had written in the "Napoleonic Ideas"; the thought that he was thereby conferring a real benefit upon his country; a desire to regain his lost popularity, which deeply affected him, and the moral and physical lassitude which rendered him powerless longer to bear alone the cares of government.

At first he had no reason to regret his action. As often occurs immediately preceding the violence of a tropical storm, the Second Empire enjoyed a brief period of calm, when the sun seemed to shine brighter and clearer than ever before, and the future of his dynasty seemed to be assured. The Liberal Empire appeared to have entered upon a long course of prosperity, which seemed to be confirmed by the striking success of the Exhibition of 1867.

In May 1870 the question of the adoption of the changes in the Constitution was submitted to the French people, and received a triumphant approval. All the clouds which obscured the horizon seemed swept away by the strong breeze of liberal opinion. Yet, only two months later, like a clap of thunder from a clear sky, came the disastrous German war, which in the short period of six weeks was to sweep his dynasty from the throne of France.

To the first feeling of exultation over the result of the popular vote had succeeded a vague inquietude—

What was the significance of the fifty thousand negative votes of the Army? This detail had given the Emperor a rude shock. At a state dinner given at the Tuileries on the evening of the 19 May 1870, in honor of the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Duc de Gramont, Napoleon spoke of this vote to his old friend Lord Malmesbury, and in so doing let drop a remark which much astonished the English diplomatist. "At least," he said, "three hundred thousand soldiers have kept faithful to me in their suffrage." This then was the total strength of the French army, the only barrier against the hosts of Germany — 350,000 men, when all the world supposed that France could put in line of battle nearly double that number. Malmesbury ventured to make this observation to the Emperor, and to point out to him that this force was much inferior to that on the other side of the Rhine. A shade passed over Napoleon's face, but he made no reply. A few minutes later, with his usual optimism he spoke of the tranquillity of Europe; there was no cause for alarm, Bismarck would not venture to disturb the peace; King William was still his "bon frère"; no one desired war. Napoleon appeared to have no presentiment of the approaching tempest, which was apparent to the eyes of every trained observer. The candidature of a Hohenzollern prince for the throne of Spain, quietly arranged by Bismarck in his cabinet, was far from his thoughts. How did the fatal crisis develop?

All the Great Powers, except Prussia, desired to conserve the tranquillity of the continent. But ever since the Schleswig-Holstein question, "the affair of

the duchies," had come to the front in December 1863, when Napoleon and his Ministers, in spite of the prophetic advice of Thiers, had let pass this occasion to nip the hopes of Prussia in the bud, Bismarck and Moltke had been carefully laying their plans for the war against France, which alone could bring about the much desired unity of Germany. France was the only obstacle, and, at whatever cost, it was necessary to sweep it away. And the Imperial Government, on its side, committed every possible fault which could aid the plans of Prussia and make the path easy.

The Duc de Gramont, who by his temerity was one of the persons the most responsible for the outbreak of the war, has told us in detail of how the grave decision of the 14 July 1870 was reached.

In 1868 a revolution had occurred in Spain which resulted in the overthrow and exile of the Queen, Isabella the Second. The Provisional Government set about the task of finding a new ruler, and the choice fell upon Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a distant kinsman of the King of Prussia. There is no doubt as to the fact that his candidature had been promoted by the wily Bismarck, who pretended to think that, as the grandson of Stéphanie de Beauharnais, Grand Duchess of Baden, and therefore a cousin of Napoleon, he would be satisfactory to the Emperor, notwithstanding his Hohenzollern blood. The offer of the Spanish crown was made to Leopold three times during the course of 1869 and 1870 and as many times refused. Bismarck had been formally notified by Benedetti, French Ambassador at Berlin,

that Leopold was not acceptable to the Imperial Government, but he persisted in urging the matter, and secured a fourth offer which was accepted by Leopold.

The news that a Prussian Prince had accepted the throne of Spain reached Paris via Madrid on the second of July 1870. Great indignation was expressed by the Paris papers, and the excitement in the city was intense. In the Chamber, Gramont declared that the election of the Prince was inadmissible as "upsetting to our disadvantage the present equilibrium of forces in Europe," and imperilling "the interests and honor of France."

Benedetti was ordered by the French Government to proceed to Ems, a watering-place near the Rhine, where King William was then taking the cure, and demand the withdrawal of Leopold's candidature. Now, neither Napoleon nor William desired war, and the Governments of the other Great Powers were laboring earnestly to preserve peace. Therefore, when on the 12 July the father of Prince Leopold announced that his candidature was withdrawn, the tension was over, and the war scare seemed at an end. In the estimation of the veteran Guizot, then living in retirement, Napoleon had gained the greatest diplomatic victory of his career. The Emperor was much pleased to learn that the difficulty was settled, and that he had maintained the prestige of his Government. Unfortunately two men were not satisfied with the outcome, Gramont and Bismarck. The former had talked too loudly of the flagrant injury to the honor of France. The latter considered the reverse so great and so humiliating that he thought he must in self-

respect resign and retire into private life. In the words of one of his biographers this was "the severest check which Bismarck's policy had yet received; he had persuaded the Prince to accept against his will; he had persuaded the King reluctantly to keep the negotiations secret from Napoleon; however others might disguise the truth he knew that they had had to retreat from an untenable position, and retreat before the noisy insults of the French press and the open menace of the French Government."

This great diplomatic victory was thrown away, and Bismarck was saved by the folly of Gramont, and his own duplicity.

A hasty meeting of the French Ministers was called at Saint-Cloud, at which Ollivier, the President of the Council, was not even present. The Empress was surrounded by the most hot-headed members of the Imperial Government. Very much exited, she declared that the shock of arms alone could restore the honor of France. The Minister of War, the incompetent Lebœuf, threw his portfolio on the floor and said that he would never pick it up, and, moreover, would give up his bâton of Marshal of France, if the Government failed in this supreme test.

Like a weak man, Gramont did not know where to stop. On his own responsibility, without the knowledge of Ollivier the Prime Minister, or of Napoleon himself, he telegraphed Benedetti to demand of King William a guarantee that the candidature would not be renewed. The King naturally resented this new demand, as a reflection upon his good faith, and a deliberate attempt to pick a quarrel with Prussia.

His reply, that he had nothing further to say, was not insulting, and was not meant to be an insult.

This new demand was presented to the King at Ems on the 13 July, and, as above stated, was refused, but with entire courtesy on the part of William. At the meeting of the French Ministers held that evening, it was not felt that this refusal made war inevitable.

In the meantime, King William had caused an account of his final interview with Benedetti to be telegraphed to Bismarck at Berlin, leaving to him the decision as to whether the facts should be published or not.

The game that Bismarck had intended to play had broken down completely, and on the 12 July he was much depressed. For the first time he had been worsted before Europe in a grave affair of diplomacy. He had now neither his candidature nor his defensive war, and he did not know what to do next. From this *impasse* he was now to be saved by the criminal folly of Gramont.

When the Ems dispatch was received at Berlin the evening of the 13 July, Bismarck was dining with Moltke and Roon, and all were in the depths of despair over the failure of their well-laid plans. After carefully rereading the King's message, Bismarck began to see a new light. Taking his big pencil, he quickly drafted a version for publication. "It is very easy," he afterwards remarked, "without falsification, but simply by omissions and corrections, completely to alter the tone of a communication. I have myself once had experience of the task, as editor of the Ems

dispatch. When I had edited it, Moltke exclaimed: 'The original was an order to retreat (*chamade*), now it is a summons to charge (*fanfare*).'"

Bismarck's version was immediately published in an extra edition of the official evening paper, which was distributed free on the streets of Berlin, and was wired to all the Prussian diplomatic representatives, as well as to the foreign press. The exact character of the "editing" is shown below where the two texts are given in parallel columns.

THE EMS DISPATCH

Abeken to Bismarck

Ems, 13 July 1870, 3:40 p.m.

His Majesty writes to me: 'Count Benedetti spoke to me on the promenade, in order to demand from me, finally in a very importunate manner, that I should authorize him to telegraph at once that I bound myself for all future time never again to give my consent if the Hohenzollerns should renew their candidature. I refused, at last somewhat sternly, as it is neither right nor possible to undertake engagements of this kind *à tout jamais*. I told him that I had as yet received no news, and as he was earlier informed from Paris and Ma-

Bismarck's Version for Publication

After the news of the renunciation of the hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern had been officially communicated to the Imperial Government of France by the Royal Government of Spain, the French Ambassador further demanded of his Majesty, the King, at Ems, that he would authorize him to telegraph to Paris that his Majesty, the King, bound himself for all time never again to give his consent, should the Hohenzollerns renew their candidature. His Majesty, the King, thereupon decided not to receive the French Ambassador again, and

drid than myself, he could see clearly that my Government had no more interest in the matter.'

His Majesty has since received a letter from Prince Charles Anthony. His Majesty, having told Count Benedetti that he was awaiting news from the Prince, has decided, with reference to the above demand, on the suggestion of Count Eulenberg and myself, not to receive Count Benedetti again, but only to let him be informed through an aide de camp: 'That his Majesty has now received from the Prince confirmation of the news which Benedetti had already received from Paris, and had nothing further to say to the Ambassador.' His Majesty leaves it to your Excellency to decide whether Benedetti's fresh demand and its rejection should be at once communicated to both our Ambassadors, to foreign nations, and to the Press.

sent the aide de camp on duty to tell him that his Majesty had nothing further to communicate to the Ambassador.

It will be seen that the edited version of the King's narrative, which Bismarck issued for publication, was a brutal and insulting message, true in the bare facts, but so worded as to convey a totally different

construction. As he said himself, it was deliberately intended to be "a red flag for the Gallic Bull." The Bismarck version gladdened the gloomy hearts of Roon and Moltke at that memorable dinner on the night of the thirteenth of July. This meant the war for which they had worked and prayed. Six days later France declared war; Bismarck had won.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

1870

THE GERMAN WAR

Effect of the Ems Dispatch — Declaration of War — Enthusiasm of the Parisians — Isolation of France — Disorganization of the Army — Perfect Preparation of Prussia — Advance of the Three German Armies — MacMahon Defeated at Wörth — Despair of the Emperor — Bazaine in Command — Attempt to Retreat on Verdun Checked at Borny — Night Visit to Napoleon — The Emperor Goes to Gravelotte — Final Interview with Bazaine — Battles of Vionville and Gravelotte — Siege of Metz Begun — Napoleon at Châlons — A Council of War — Veto of the Empress — MacMahon Decides to March on Metz — Further Indecision — The March Resumed — Position of the Germans — They Follow the French Army — Further Defeats of the French — Retreat to Sedan — The French Position — MacMahon Wounded — Wimpffen in Command — Misery of the Emperor — Desperate Position of the Army — The White Flag Hoisted — Napoleon's Letter

THE effect of the publication on the 14 July of Bismarck's brutalized version of the Ems dispatch was instantaneous and malign. It roused the indignation both of Prussia and France to fever heat. Napoleon, who was ill both in mind and body, did not desire war, but he was unable to resist the popular clamor. The Empress urged it, out of hatred of Protestant Prussia, and because she believed it would strengthen the Imperial throne. The Ministry went with the current. Amid great excite-

ment, credits were voted 15 July, and war was formally declared on the nineteenth. Only ten members of the Chambers, among whom were Thiers and Gambetta, voted against it.

At Paris, the certainty of victory had taken possession of the popular imagination. The boulevards were filled with crowds shouting "Á Berlin!" The chiefs of the army had loudly affirmed that the troops were well armed, equipped and disciplined, and no one doubted their valor. The war was accepted with enthusiasm. It was really popular at the beginning. When the Emperor left for the front, he was obliged to take the circular route around Paris, to avoid the ovation of the people.

The war began under very inauspicious circumstances for France. She had declared war on Prussia alone, but Bismarck had played his game so well that the South German States, on whose support France had counted, immediately sided with Prussia. France, with only 350,000 soldiers, therefore confronted a united Germany which could put a million men in line of battle. The contest was hopeless from the start.

Moreover, Bismarck had been successful in isolating France from the rest of Europe. He immediately published the draft of a treaty drawn up several years before, between Prussia and France, but never signed, providing for the annexation of Belgium to France. In vain France protested that Bismarck himself had drafted the treaty, it immediately resulted in alienating the sympathy of England, which declared its neutrality. France had counted upon the

ultimate aid of Austria, but Russia, out of gratitude for Bismarck's support at the time of the Polish insurrection, at once threatened to mobilize against Austria if she went to the assistance of France. Italy, which was luke-warm on account of the continued occupation of Rome by French troops, could not safely act alone, even if so inclined.

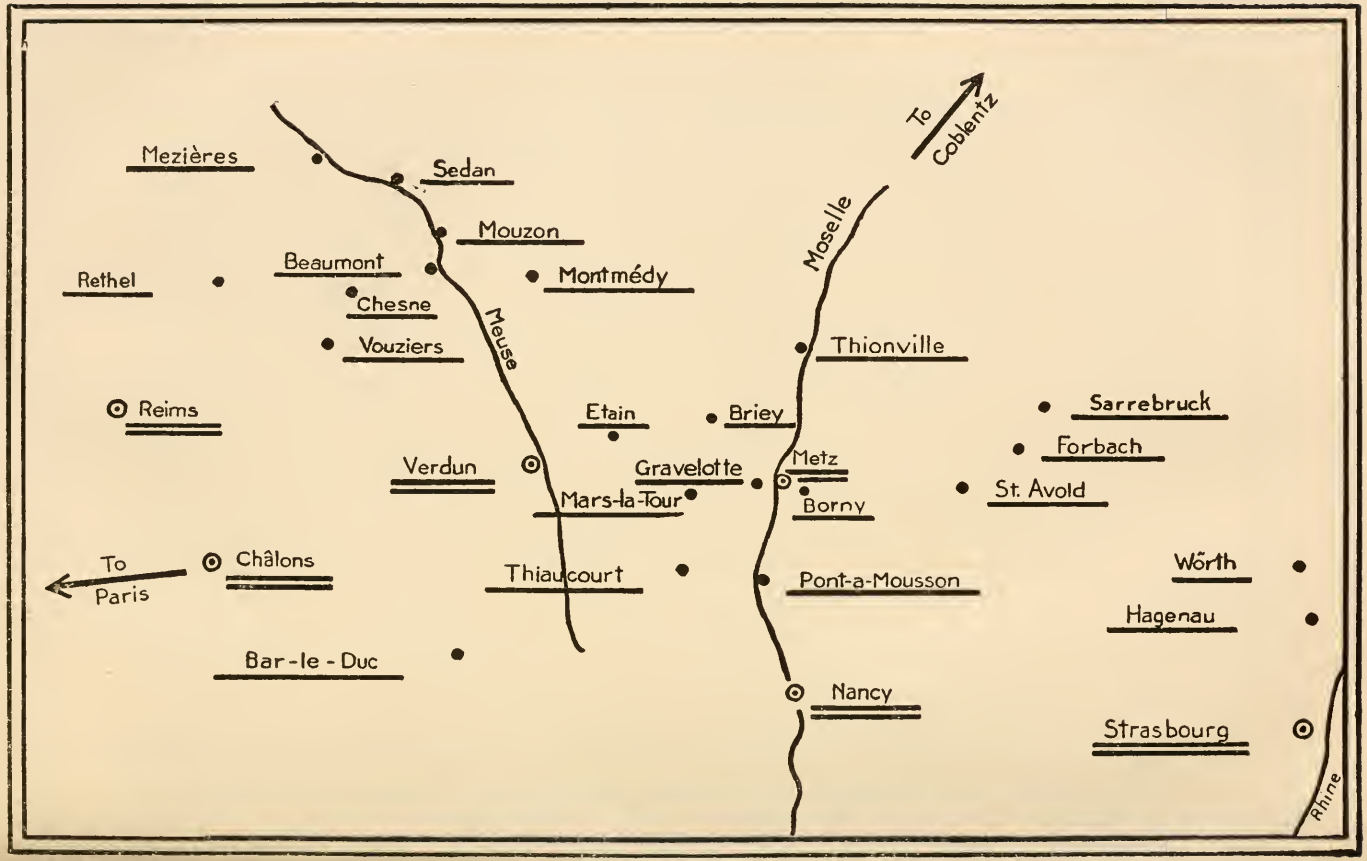
By the beginning of August, therefore, it was clear that France could expect no ally. The military authorities had also made the great mistake of underestimating the task before them. The lack of preparation was apparent from the first day. From every quarter came telegrams saying that practically everything was lacking: food, medicine, blankets, tents, means of transport. There were cannons without ammunition, horses without harnesses, machine guns without men who knew how to fire them. There were plenty of maps of Germany, but hardly any of France!

The German Army, on the other hand, was perfectly prepared. For years the rulers of Prussia had been getting ready for this war, and everything had been anticipated and arranged for with scientific thoroughness. Moreover, the army was directed by General von Moltke, the greatest military genius Europe had seen since Napoleon. A thorough master of the principles of war, a careful student of Napoleon's methods, Moltke was particularly remarkable as an organizer. He had carefully worked out the problems of modern warfare as modified since the time of the Great Emperor by the railway and the telegraph. Endless time and thought had been given to preparation down to the minutest detail. Orders

for the movements of the army corps were all ready; it was only necessary to date, sign and transmit them. No army in history had ever got under way so quickly. Moltke had also the assistance of the great Prussian General Staff, men of intelligence and judgment, trained both in theory and in actual experience in handling troops, the veterans of the Danish and Austrian wars.

Therefore, while the German armies mobilized and advanced towards the frontier with amazing order, swiftness and ease, in the French army, as already stated, everything was in confusion and disorder. Not only were the French inferior in numbers at the beginning, but they had practically no reserves upon which to count, while the Germans had very large reserves to call on. The French commanders were also men much inferior in ability and experience. The Emperor, who at the outset was the nominal commander-in-chief, was soon compelled by the state of his health to make other arrangements, and in the short period of two weeks he made three changes in the command of the Army of the Rhine. This of course was extremely demoralizing.

The French, from the outset, were disappointed in all their calculations. They expected swiftly to pass the Rhine, call to their assistance the South German States, defeat the Prussians in a second battle of Jena, and advance upon Berlin. Nothing of the kind occurred. The Germans crossed into Alsace and Lorraine, and in the four weeks from the sixth of August to the second of September, the French suffered one reverse after another.


Mezières
Sedan
Mouzon
Beaumont
Rethel
Montmédy
Chesne
Vouziers
Meuse
Moselle
To Coblentz
Thionville
Reims
Etain
Briey
Sarrebruck
Forbach
Verdun
Gravelotte
Metz
Mars-la-Tour
Borny
St. Avold
To Paris
Châlons
Thiaucourt
Pont-a-Mousson
Wörth
Hagenau
Bar-le-Duc
Nancy
Strasbourg
Rhine

The war had begun so suddenly that during the first ten days the German frontier was hardly defended, and, if the French had been ready to advance, their dreams might have come true. But by the first week in August, the danger for Germany and the opportunity for France had passed away.

As in the Austrian campaign, the huge German host was divided into three armies. Steinmetz with the first army crossed the Rhine at Bingen and followed the Moselle towards Thionville. The second army, under the command of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, known as the "Red Prince," passed the Rhine at Mayence, and formed the centre. The third army, commanded by the popular Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor Frederick, concentrated in the angle formed by the Rhine and the Lauter. The King of Prussia was the nominal commander-in-chief, but the operations were all planned and directed by Moltke, the Chief of Staff.

The French army, in line between Metz and Strasbourg, numbered less than 175,000 men. The corps about Metz were badly posted, and MacMahon near Strasbourg was completely isolated. At the same time, the German hosts, concentrated in the angle between the Moselle and the Rhine, aggregated more than 400,000 men.

The sixth of August, at Wörth, north of Strasbourg, was fought the first great battle of the war. MacMahon was decisively defeated, and retreated rapidly to the great camp at Châlons, east of Paris. The French had fought bravely, and the Germans paid dearly for their success. Not a regiment was now

left to confront the Germans between Metz and Strasbourg. In the former city, the news was received, first with incredulity, and then with consternation. The sense of discouragement pervaded all ranks from the Emperor down to the common soldiers.

At the opening of the second week in August, Napoleon, at Metz, had under his command only 125,000 men, and with this force he had to face 300,000 Germans, flushed with victory. Only a leader of the genius and energy of the Great Emperor could have maintained the contest against such odds. Unfortunately, Napoleon the Third even in his prime was never a commander of the first order, and now he was suffering from bodily pain and mental weariness. In this crisis he turned to two men to aid him; the first was General Changarnier, the other Marshal Bazaine. Prior to the coup d'état, Napoleon had deposed Changarnier from his position as commander of the army at Paris, and later had sent him to Ham, because the General was not in sympathy with his plans. Forgetting the past, the political prisoner of 1851 left his retirement and became the trusted Imperial adviser of 1870.

As for Bazaine, he owed his marshal's bâton to valiant services on many fields of battle. Changarnier agreed with the Emperor in thinking Bazaine the best man available at the moment. He was therefore assigned to the command of three army corps and ordered to fall back under the guns of Metz.

In the meantime the Emperor was seriously considering his resignation of the supreme command. Both the army and the capital had lost confidence

in him, and he never had much confidence in himself. On the 13 August he formally appointed Bazaine commander of the Army of the Rhine. This change was well received by the army, and Paris was satisfied.

There has always been some doubt as to the exact reasons for this change of command. Napoleon probably yielded to popular demand, and because he considered this course for the best interests of France. But there is reason to think that his Ministers, who advised it, saw the necessity, in case of disaster, of having some one to take the responsibility, other than the Emperor.

The controlling reason, however, was probably the state of Napoleon's health. In a consultation held at Saint-Cloud on the first day of July 1870 between six of the most eminent medical men of France, it was considered necessary to perform an immediate operation on the Emperor. But Nélaton shirked the responsibility on account of the fatal result of a similar operation which he had performed on Marshal Niel the year before.

On the day of the Emperor's departure for the front, every one was struck by his haggard appearance, as he walked between his wife and son along the platform of the private station in the park of Saint-Cloud, to take his seat in the train. It was afterwards revealed by Doctor Germain Sée, the only physician who signed the report of the consultation, that a young but exceedingly skilful surgeon accompanied the Emperor during the campaign, with all the appliances necessary for performing an immediate operation, should occasion arise.

MacMahon was Bazaine's senior, but he had no wish to contest the dangerous honor of the supreme command, and Bazaine himself only accepted upon the entreaty of the Emperor. The first move of the new commander was to order a retreat on Verdun, which was begun at dawn on the 14 August, when the army began to cross the Moselle.

In the midst of this movement the French were furiously attacked at Borny to the east of Metz by the first German army under Steinmetz. The retreat came to a standstill; the Guard was called up to support the troops in action, and the army was forced to re-cross the river. The French fought well, and claimed a victory. The German purpose, however, had been accomplished. They had checked the French retreat towards a point of safety, and given the Red Prince time to come up on the west.

Bazaine, who seems to have realized the purpose of this action, felt that he was in danger of being outflanked. At midnight, from the battlefield, he made his way across the Moselle through the crowded streets of Metz, and sought the Emperor in his quarters at the Château de Longueville. Here he explained the situation, but the distracted monarch had no advice to offer except to urge caution and the avoidance of any fresh defeats.

The 15 August, his fête-day, the Emperor celebrated by a hasty withdrawal from the scene of danger. Accompanied by the Prince Imperial and a small escort he proceeded to Gravelotte, a short distance to the west of Metz. That afternoon he received Bazaine there at the village inn.

On the following morning, the sixteenth, Bazaine and the Emperor met for the last time. The Marshal, summoned by an aide, found the Emperor seated in his carriage and evidently suffering great pain. He told Bazaine that the Germans were in possession of Briey, only a few miles to the north of Gravelotte, and that he was leaving for Verdun and Châlons, and ordered the Marshal to follow him with the army.

The Emperor had hardly left, before the roar of cannon announced that another battle had begun. The action fought that day was the most desperate of the entire war. The French were endeavoring to retreat on Verdun, two of the corps by the northern route via Etain, and the other two corps and the Guard by the southern road via Mars-la-Tour. The object of the Germans was to intercept the French retreat on Verdun, and they maintained the attack throughout the day with greatly inferior forces, the mass of the German second army being still far away. Bazaine, who did not realize the slenderness of the forces opposing him, used unnecessary caution. The position of the Germans was critical throughout the day; and they concealed the paucity of the force of infantry on the ground by repeated and costly charges of cavalry. The battle on their part was a marvel of military audacity. Realizing the importance of holding Bazaine in Metz, they risked everything for its accomplishment.

The battle of Vionville, or Mars-la-Tour, settled the fate of Bazaine's army. Although he claimed a victory, he abandoned the attempt to reach Verdun, and the following day led his army back to a strong

position under the guns of Metz. The next day was fought the battle of Gravelotte which resulted in shutting up Bazaine's army in Metz.

The battle of Borny had been fought by the Germans to give time for their second army to come up on the west; Mars-la-Tour, to check the French retreat on Verdun, and Gravelotte, the last of the trio, to bottle Bazaine up in Metz. In all three the Germans had accomplished their object.

One French army was now practically eliminated, and the German problem was much simplified. There only remained to deal with the army which MacMahon was assembling at Châlons, and against which the Crown Prince was already moving. A fourth German army of 100,000 men was now formed, and put under the command of the Prince Royal of Saxony. This was joined to the third army of about 120,000 men under the Crown Prince of Prussia. On the 20 August these two armies began a movement to the west in search of MacMahon. To the first and second armies, 225,000 strong, was left the siege of Metz. King William and Moltke made their headquarters with the third army.

The Emperor arrived at Châlons from Gravelotte on the evening of 16 August, and found the military situation there very discouraging, full of confusion and indecision. He held anxious conferences with Marshal MacMahon, Prince Napoleon and General Trochu, the commander of the newly formed 12th corps. Prince Napoleon declared that the time had now come for the Emperor to disregard the wishes of the Empress, and recall his troops from Rome and

secure the support of Italy. He carried his point, and left at once for Florence, where he was authorized to say to his royal father-in-law that he might do as he pleased with Rome provided he came to the aid of France. This move of Napoleon at the eleventh hour was to be too late; the time for assuring the friendship of Italy had passed.

It was further decided that the Emperor should return to Paris, where Trochu was to precede him and assume the military governorship, and that MacMahon should bring his army back to the vicinity of the capital, and there give battle for its defence. This was the plan adopted with success by General Joffre in 1914, and might have proved equally successful in 1870. But once more the pernicious influence of the Empress prevailed. She protested strongly against the return of the Emperor, and wired him that the worst was to be feared at Paris unless he marched to the assistance of Bazaine. Thus was thrown away, through her baleful meddling, the last chance of saving France and the Imperial throne.

In the meantime the army had been directed upon Reims, reaching the environs of that city the evening of 21 August. A hopeful telegram had been received from Bazaine in which he spoke confidently of his ability to break through the German lines of investment on the north. This telegram, received from Metz on the twenty-second, and the Paris dispatches of the same day, convinced MacMahon that he had no alternative except to march to Bazaine's assistance. Consequently, the following day, he issued orders for an advance of his whole army upon Mont-

médy, a city near the frontier, about sixty miles northeast of Reims, and constituting the apex of a triangle, of which the base is formed by a line drawn from Reims through Verdun to Metz.

The strength of the army under MacMahon was about 140,000 men, but one of his corps had been shattered in battle, another was made up largely of new recruits, and the other two were dispirited by forced retreats. The success of the whole movement depended on celerity, and of this MacMahon's army was incapable.

On the 27 August, the army had reached the defile of Le Chêne-Populeux in the Argonne, about half way to Montmédy. Here MacMahon was alarmed by the reports that the Crown Prince was coming up on his right flank and rear. He therefore telegraphed Paris that he had abandoned the attempt to reach Bazaine, and issued orders for his army to march to Mezières directly to the north. After giving up the attempt to join hands with Bazaine, it is difficult to understand his object in going further north, instead of retreating on Reims, where he could cover the capital.

During the evening the Marshal received dispatch after dispatch from Paris ordering him to continue his march to the relief of Bazaine, and saying that all was lost unless he acceded to the wishes of the inhabitants of Paris. Throughout this unfortunate campaign there was a conflict of authority between the Headquarters in the field, which tried to maneuver with reference to the German armies, and the Government at Paris, which was actuated mainly by the

fear of the city mob. This all goes to show what a terrible mistake had been made by the Empress and her advisers in preventing the return of Napoleon to the capital, for he alone could have kept the populace of Paris under control. Headquarters again yielded to orders from Paris and the Emperor and his army marched on to their doom.

At this same time the main German army, 200,000 strong, was at Bar-le-Duc, one hundred and sixty miles directly east of Paris, and prepared to march on the city. Moltke could hardly credit the reports that the French army was advancing on the Meuse. Orders were at once given to the third and fourth armies to wheel to the right and start in pursuit of the French whom "Gott" had delivered into their hands.

So slow and painful were the movements of the French army that MacMahon could not issue orders for crossing the Meuse until the 29 August, and at nightfall on that day only one corps had passed the river and was in bivouac about Mouzon. The next day the Germans came up in force and defeated the French corps at Beaumont, south of the river, and drove it in disorder on Mouzon, where the French artillery, well posted on the heights east of that place, checked the German pursuit.

This day's work threw the French army into terrible confusion. One corps and part of another had been defeated, and a third hotly pursued. Only one corps remained intact. The Emperor met MacMahon on the hills above Mouzon late in the afternoon. After an anxious conference, it was decided to retreat to the northwest in the hope of finding an open road to

Paris. A curt telegram was sent to the capital, reading: "MacMahon informs the Minister of War that he is compelled to direct his march on Sedan."

Through the dense darkness of the night, Napoleon made his way miserably on foot through the crowded streets of Sedan, where all was confusion and disorder. Even now, MacMahon seems to have failed to recognize the gravity of the situation, although he hurried the Prince Imperial off to Mezières, where he had decided to retreat the following day.

On the 31 August the Germans advanced with unabated energy, and were successful in partly cutting off the French line of retreat to Mezières on the northwest of Sedan.

The French Army was now crowded into that narrow tract between the Meuse and the tangled forest of the Ardennes, which extends beyond the Belgian frontier. Early on the morning of the first of September the Germans attacked in force. Hastening to the front, MacMahon was hit by a fragment of a shell and painfully wounded. This was most unfortunate for the French, as there ensued a conflict of authority attended by the most disastrous results. Ducrot, who assumed the command, at once issued orders for a retreat on Mezières. No sooner had this been done than General de Wimpffen appeared on the scene and produced an order from the Minister of War, directing him to assume the command in case of the disability of MacMahon. He angrily countermanded the orders of Ducrot, and so destroyed the last faint chance of the French army to escape the net which the Germans were fast spreading around

them. Wimpffen, who was a vain, blustering man, had only been with the army for two days and was entirely ignorant of the extreme gravity of the situation. He declared with bombast that he was going to throw the Germans into the Meuse and cut his way through to the east to the relief of Bazaine.

Since divesting himself of the supreme command, and yielding to the injunction of the Empress not to return to Paris, Napoleon had trailed along with the army in the march to the north, treated with scant courtesy and less respect. In this supreme crisis, he failed to assert his authority, and allowed the new Minister of War, Comte Palikao, of Chinese fame, to decide the question of the high command. By taking this responsibility, Palikao ruined the small chance which was left for the escape of the army. It was a sad ending for the brilliant Second Empire, which had commenced with so much éclat eighteen years before, and for the Emperor, who for so many years had been the most prominent personality not only in France but in all Europe.

While these events were occurring on the morning of the first of September, the Emperor wandered aimlessly about, an object of no consideration in the general confusion. The troops had already begun their retreat on Mezières in obedience to Ducrot's order, and it was now necessary to retrace their steps.

By ten o'clock in the morning, it was evident that the position of the French army was absolutely untenable. Crowded into an area of hardly eight square miles, subject to the fire of over four hundred cannon admirably served, there was no escape from annihi-

lation except by surrender. By order of the Emperor the white flag was hoisted on the citadel. The German batteries ceased their fire, and a Prussian officer was admitted to the presence of the Emperor with a summons to surrender Sedan. When he rode back to the German lines it became known for the first time that Napoleon was with the ill-fated army.

About six o'clock the King of Prussia, the Crown Prince, Bismarck, Moltke and the General Staff rode forward to the heights of Frénois, overlooking Sedan. Here the King received the well-known letter from the Emperor:

"Monsieur mon Frère, — N'ayant pas pu mourir au milieu de mes troupes, il ne me reste plus qu'à remettre mon épée entre les mains de votre Majesté."

Then the brilliant assemblage on the heights broke up, and the officers separated to go to their several headquarters. Darkness descended on the field that had witnessed the downfall of the Second Empire. France had experienced a catastrophe worse than Waterloo.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

1871–1873

LAST DAYS OF THE EMPEROR

The Surrender at Sedan — The Emperor's Last Meeting with Bismarck — His Interview with King William — Prisoner in Germany — The Château of Wilhelmshöhe — Visit of the Empress — End of the War — Final Exile in England — Life at Camden Place — Failing Health of the Emperor — Operation of the Second January — Death on the Ninth — Funeral at Chislehurst

ON the afternoon of the second of September, there was an interview at the Château de Bellevue, near Donchery, between Wimpffen and Moltke and Bismarck to arrange the terms of the surrender. Moltke at once pointed out the desperate situation of the French army: no food, no ammunition, demoralization and disorder, the absolute impossibility of breaking the iron ring which encircled them; that the German army occupied the commanding heights, and could destroy the city in two hours. Coldly, he dictated the conditions: the French army to surrender, arms and equipment. Wimpffen in vain essayed to modify these hard terms. He spoke of hard luck, of the bravery of the soldiers, of the danger of pushing a valiant foe too far. The only concession he was able to obtain was that the officers who gave their written parole d'honneur not to serve again during the war, might return to their homes. It was agreed

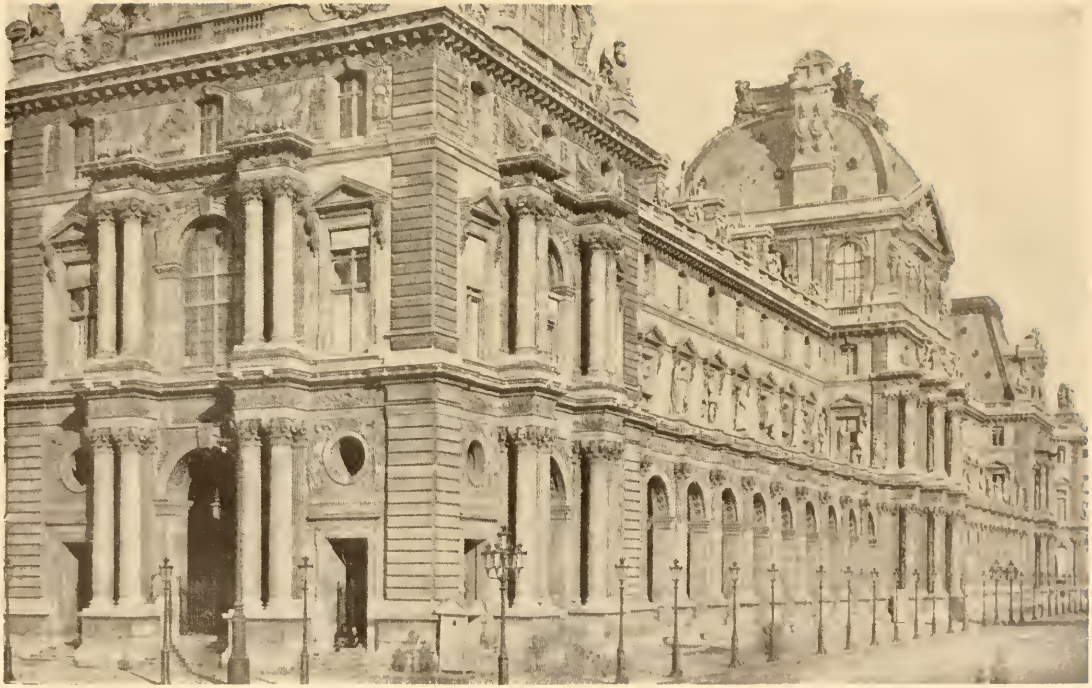
that the armistice should be prolonged until ten o'clock the following morning, when, if the terms of surrender had not been accepted, the German batteries would recommence their fire.

At eight o'clock the next morning, Wimpffen called a new council of war, at which thirty general officers were present. He explained the results of his interview with Moltke and Bismarck, his useless efforts to obtain a mitigation of the severe terms. As no other course seemed possible, the General was authorized to go at once to Bellevue, and accept the terms.

At this same hour, Napoleon was in the miserable house of a weaver on the route to Donchery. He had wished to see the King of Prussia, with the hope of obtaining better conditions for his army. Entering a hired calèche he followed the broad highway, bordered with poplars, and shortly met Bismarck, who had set out to intercept him, for the purpose of preventing an interview with the King, until the capitulation was signed. King William was still at Venderesse nine miles away.

Here are the events of that last meeting between the fallen monarch and the Iron Chancellor, in the words of Bismarck himself:

"I met him on the high road near Frénois, a mile and three quarters from Donchery. He sat with three officers in a two-horse carriage, and three others were on horseback beside him. I gave the military salute. He took his cap off, and the officers did the same: whereupon I took mine off, although it is contrary to rule. He said: 'Couvrez-vous donc.' I behaved to him just as if in Saint-Cloud, and asked his commands.



THE TUILERIES

He inquired whether he could speak to the King. I said that would be impossible as the King was quartered nine miles away. I did not wish them to come together till we had settled the matter of the capitulation. Then he inquired where he himself could stay, which signified that he could not go back to Sedan. I offered him my quarters in Donchery, which I would immediately vacate. He accepted this; but he stopped at a place a couple of hundred paces from the village, and asked whether he could not remain in a house which was there. I sent my cousin, who had ridden out as my adjutant, to look at it. When he returned, he reported it to be a miserable place. The Emperor said that did not matter. I went up with him to the first floor, where we entered a little room with one window. It was the best in the house, but had only one deal table and two rush-bottomed chairs. Here I had a conversation with him which lasted nearly three quarters of an hour."

Says Napoleon, in his own account: "The conversation first entered upon the position of the French army, a question of vital urgency. Count von Bismarck stated that General Moltke alone was competent to deal with this question. When General von Moltke arrived, Napoleon requested of him that nothing should be settled before the interview which was to take place, for he hoped to obtain from the King some favorable concessions for the army. Monsieur von Moltke promised nothing; he confined himself to announcing that he was about to proceed to Venderesse, where the King of Prussia then was, and Count von Bismarck urged the Emperor to go

on to the Château de Bellevue, which had been selected as the place of the interview. It became evident that the latter would be delayed until after the signature of the capitulation."

For a short time the Emperor and his staff were left alone in front of the little yellow cottage while Bismarck proceeded to Donchery to see about their quarters. An hour later, Napoleon drove on to the Château, escorted by a guard of Prussian cavalry. Here he awaited the arrival of the King of Prussia, who came on horseback, accompanied by the Crown Prince, and attended by a few officers. "It was now three years" says Napoleon, "since the sovereigns of France and Prussia had met, under very different circumstances. Now, betrayed by fortune, Napoleon had lost everything, and had surrendered into the hands of the conqueror the only thing left him — his liberty."

The evening of the fourth of September 1870, the authorities of the city of Cassel received from the headquarters of the King of Prussia at Varennes a telegram announcing the capitulation of the French army, the surrender of the Emperor, and the designation of Wilhelmshöhe as his residence as prisoner of war.

Wilhelmshöhe was one of the finest châteaux in Germany, the former residence of Jérôme when King of Westphalia, and was still filled with Napoleonic souvenirs. King William had not forgotten the splendid reception given him only three years before when he was a guest in the palaces of the Emperor, and he

wished to soften so far as possible the chagrin of defeat. Queen Augusta, who was a great admirer of the French, had also urged her husband not to take an unkind advantage of the superiority given him by the fate of war.

Napoleon and his suite arrived the following day in two special trains. In the party, there were five generals, two physicians, his private secretary, Piétri, and many servants. The Governor of Cassel, Comte de Monts, was appalled at the thought of entertaining at the expense of the King this large party of illustrious captives. A postal and telegraphic bureau was installed at the Château, of which the prisoners had free use. The apartments were large and magnificently furnished. The table was abundant and well served. The total expenses amounted to about 40,000 francs a month.

The Château is splendidly situated, in a large park, and has an extended view over the Thuringian mountains and forests. The season was marked by continual rains, and the Emperor passed most of his time in his private rooms. There was a fine library in the Château, well stocked with French books, for those who cared to read, and billiard tables and other amusements for any whose tastes were not literary.

It was no new experience for Napoleon to be a prisoner, and as at Ham he passed his time in study and in writing. He began an article upon the Prussian military system and composed some addresses to the French people.

If he did not give way to despair, he exaggerated, on the other hand, his air of calm indifference, and

talked with a freedom which was very unusual in his case. His conversation frequently turned upon the defective organization of the French army, of which he spoke with the complete detachment of a disinterested third party. He said that he knew of the defects before the war, and had been prevented by the Chambers from introducing in France the system of universal military service. Strangers who listened to his remarks could not understand how a man, who at the peril of his life had carried through such an audacious undertaking as the coup d'état, should have shown towards the end of his reign such a complete lack of force of character. They did not realize to what an extent his *moral* had been impaired by disease and the long-continued strain of domestic infelicities.

The only thing that seemed to affect him was the unpopularity of the Empress. The attacks upon himself he read with apparent indifference. Only a few short weeks before, the day of his departure for the front, he had had difficulty in avoiding the popular ovation. To-day he was held responsible for all the misfortunes of the war, which he was accused of instigating.

The 30 October, after the surrender of Metz, when the Emperor was looking for the arrival of Marshals Bazaine, Canrobert and Lebœuf, the Empress suddenly put in an appearance. She had come directly from Chislehurst, travelling night and day. She came to talk over with Napoleon a plan for restoring peace and order in France. Metz had fallen, Paris was completely invested; all the marshals, forty generals,

and the two principal French armies were interned in Germany, and there was no hope in continuing the struggle. At this time, every one remarked the air of superiority which she assumed in addressing the Emperor, and her complete assurance, which gave the impression that she was not only accustomed to being listened to, but also of having the last word. She remained for three days, leaving for England the night of the first of November.

In France, all hope had not yet been abandoned, and a double attempt, diplomatic and military, was being made to save the situation. Thiers was visiting London, Vienna and Saint Petersburg in the fruitless effort to persuade the Great Powers to intervene, while Gambetta, who had escaped from Paris in a balloon, was endeavoring to re-organize the national defences. But it was only a vain hope. Paris was forced to capitulate, after one of the most remarkable sieges in history, and the war was over.

The 13 March 1871, the Governor informed Napoleon of his approaching liberation. On the nineteenth, while his officers returned to France, he took a special train which was arranged for him, and travelled via Cologne to the Belgian frontier, whence he continued his journey by way of Verviers and Malines. The following day he landed at Dover, where he was received by the Empress and the Prince Imperial, and then continued his route to Chislehurst. On arriving in England, and at every point during his journey to Camden Place, he was greeted by enormous and sympathetic crowds of spectators, who had gathered to show that they had not forgotten the twenty years

of close alliance between his former government and that of the Queen. The exile once more found on British soil a welcome haven of repose.

The day after his arrival at Camden Place, the Emperor received a visit from his old friend Lord Malmesbury, who passed an hour with him in talking over old times. They had first met as young men in Rome in 1829, and had always kept up their friendship. Later, Malmesbury had visited the Prince at Ham, and the Emperor at the Tuileries, and he was now the first to pay his respects to the exile of Chislehurst. Two weeks later, on the third of April, Napoleon received a friendly call from Queen Victoria. In September, he went with the Prince Imperial to Torquay, while the Empress made a visit to her mother in Spain.

The days at Camden Place passed without any striking incidents to vary their monotony. When the Emperor was not writing or reading, he occupied his time between the instruction of his son, and strolls around the neighborhood, sometimes accompanied by the Prince and sometimes by the Empress. He was occupied with a work upon the military forces of France at the time of the outbreak of the war, which he proposed to send to Paris for publication.

From time to time, he received calls from old friends like the Duc and Duchesse de Mouchy, or the Duc de Bassano, who came only with the idea of cheering him up. At other times, there were visitors like Rouher, who came to revive his energy, stir up his hopes, and incite him for the fourth time to attempt the "Great Adventure."

Around the table, during the two years, the conversation frequently turned to the plans for the future. While Thiers was giving presidential receptions in the historic palace of the Elysée, the dethroned Emperor at Chislehurst talked of rebuilding the Tuileries, or of re-forming the Imperial Court, as the Empress desired, in the old state apartments of the Louvre. Plans were seriously formed in view of an Imperial restoration. The Prince Imperial was very much interested in the idea of reconquering the paternal throne, and the Empress seemed full of hope. Napoleon listened, but took little part in the conversation. When he was urged to decision, he yielded a quiet consent to the zealous plans of his partisans who were eager for action.

Without ever formally making a statement to that effect, Napoleon undoubtedly thought that he too would one day make his "Return from Elba." To the last moment of his life, he was never free from this illusion. The preparations for the re-entry of the Emperor on the scene had been worked out to the last detail, although the plans were a secret except to a very small number of persons. A historian of the Third Republic has written: "For several months the irons were in the fire. Men of importance in public life, generals, prefects, prelates were in the conspiracy. Rouher crossed the Channel several times to see if the Emperor was in a condition to mount a horse."

Unfortunately, the disease which Doctor Germain Sée had diagnosed the first of July 1870, and which, if it had been known before the declaration of war,

might have inspired very different measures—this disease had taken an alarming turn. The physical exhaustion of the campaign, and especially the trying hours spent in the saddle at Sedan, had aggravated the trouble to such an extent that, since his arrival at Camden Place, Napoleon had only rarely gone outside the limits of the private park. During the second summer he made a short trip to the Isle of Wight, but the change did him no good.

At the close of the year 1872, a consultation of the Emperor's medical advisers decided that he must undergo the operation of lithotrity, which, in the state of aggravation that his malady had reached, gave very little hope of recovery. Nevertheless, this operation, performed the second of January by Sir Henry Thompson, was an apparent success, and the most favorable hopes were entertained. The bulletins announced that the condition of the Emperor was satisfactory; he had no fever, and good results were expected from a third and final operation which was to take place the 18 January.

To calm his suffering and assure his sleeping quietly, Doctor Gall had prescribed a dose of chloral to be given him during the evening of the eighth of January. From a feeling of presentiment, and because for the moment he was suffering no pain, Napoleon refused to take the draught. But the Empress insisted, and he finally consented to take the fatal dose, which gave him, not a night of repose, but eternal rest. He fell asleep at nine o'clock in the evening, and never recovered consciousness except for a few seconds, at ten o'clock the next morning, after which he drew

his last breath at a quarter past eleven. It was the ninth of January 1873, and he had nearly reached the end of his sixty-fifth year. So ended one of the most striking careers in the annals of history.

The funeral of the Emperor took place in Saint Mary's Church, Chislehurst, on the 15 January, in the presence of an imposing gathering of former dignitaries of the Empire and of representatives of the Queen and of foreign countries.

CHAPTER TWENTY

1856–1879

THE PRINCE IMPERIAL

His First Public Appearance — The Baptism of Fire — His Wanderings During the War — Chislehurst and Woolwich — Service in South Africa — Killed by the Zulus — Prince Victor Head of the Family — His Marriage with Clémentine — Birth of Louis Napoleon — The American Bonapartes — The Empress at Farnborough Hill — Her Visits to Paris and Cap Martin — Her Death — The Fate of the Tuileries

AFTER the death of the Emperor, the hopes of the Imperial party were centered upon the young Prince Imperial, then a youth of seventeen years.

On two historical occasions during the Second Empire the Prince had appeared prominently before the public eye. The first was the day of the return of the victorious troops from the Italian war, in August 1859, when he was a baby three years old. Dressed in the blue and red uniform of a grenadier of the Guard, and mounted upon the pommel of his father's saddle, he had received a tremendous ovation from the people.

The second time was at Sarrebruck in August 1870 at the opening of the disastrous campaign, when he recieved the "baptism of fire." On the forenoon of the 28 July, the Emperor and his son had entered the special train that was to take them to Metz,

and which had come to pick them up in the private park at Saint-Cloud, near what was called the Orleans Gate. The young Prince was in the uniform of a sub-lieutenant of infantry, and was gay, and full of enthusiasm. A few days later occurred the skirmish at Sarrebruck, which was acclaimed as the dawn of a victorious campaign. It was the only day of exultation for the Imperial family during this disastrous war. Shortly afterwards, Napoleon yielded to the necessity of abandoning his functions of generalissimo. He took the Prince with him to Verdun and then to Châlons. When the march to the north to meet Bazaine was decided upon, the Emperor, with the Prince, accompanied MacMahon's army. They left Châlons the 21 August; two days later they were still at Reims, where there were fresh deliberations. The Emperor then separated from his son for the first time, sending him to Rethel, where he rejoined him the twenty-fifth. Two days later the Emperor bade adieu to his son as he thought "for a few days." He was not to see him again until six months later in exile.

It is unnecessary to follow the poor young Prince in his painful wanderings along the northern frontier. On the fourth of September, the day of the revolution in Paris, he arrived at Mauberge. That afternoon a dispatch was received from the Empress reading: "Start at once for Belgium." A few minutes later the Prince had left French soil, upon which he was never again to set foot. He proceeded to Ostende, where he embarked for England, landing at Dover the sixth of September.

The Empress on her arrival in England decided to take a house at Chislehurst called Camden Place. The house without being very large was sufficiently comfortable. Here the Prince continued his studies with his former tutor Augustin Filon. Later he went to King's College in London, and finally, in 1872, to the Woolwich Royal Academy, where the officers of the engineers and artillery are trained. He was there at the time of his father's death in January 1873.

In February the Prince once more donned his cadet's uniform and returned to Woolwich.

In January 1875 he passed his final examinations, ranking seventh in his class. He was far from regarding his military education as finished when he left Woolwich, and had himself attached to a permanent battery at Aldershot, where he took up his duties in the spring. His summer vacation was spent with his mother at Arenenberg. The next year was spent in the same manner.

In the autumn of 1876 the Empress and her son went to Italy for the winter. After a short excursion to Venice, and a visit to the battlefields of 1859, he rejoined his mother at Florence. In April 1877 he was back at Camden Place.

In July 1878 he visited Denmark and Sweden, where he was everywhere cordially received, as he expressed it in a letter to his mother, "As if my father was still on the throne." From this visit, the Prince returned to Arenenberg, which this year was livelier than ever. Madame Octave Feuillet wrote of him at that time: "He is a fine fellow of three and twenty, with the grace of a perfect gentleman. Every one

speaks of his charm, his heart, the sincerity and rectitude of his sentiments."

In February 1879, the Prince sent a request to the Duke of Cambridge that he might be allowed to serve with the English army in South Africa. The Empress fought the Prince's resolution with all the arguments she could think of, but in vain. Rouher came to Chislehurst and also did his utmost to get him to change his mind. The last of the month he embarked at Southampton.

The English Government had thought it impossible to grant his request to be enrolled in the army, but had given instructions that he should be allowed to follow the operations with the columns of the expedition. The letter of instructions to the General-in-Chief ended with the words: "My one fear is that he may be too courageous." Lord Chelmsford had a hard problem to solve: to reconcile the Prince's wishes with the instructions he had received from the War Office.

On the 26 March 1879, in a long letter to his mother from Cape Town, the Prince gave her a full account of his voyage. In frequent letters to the Empress he recounted the progress of the campaign, stage by stage. The morning of the first of June 1879, the English forces, in two columns, were to cross Blood River, and, effecting a junction at a point agreed upon, to march on Ulundi. The Prince was ordered to choose the site for the second camp where the army was to halt after its march on the second of June.

On the first of June, in a last hurried letter to his mother, he announced that he was off in a few minutes to select the camping ground on the left bank of Blood

River. That afternoon his small party, while dismounted, was attacked by a band of about fifty Zulus. The Prince, abandoned by his escort, who had fled in disorder, attempted to mount, but his horse, a high-spirited thoroughbred, was restless, from the war cries and shots of the enemy, and went off at a gallop. The Prince ran with him, clinging to the stirrup leather and the saddle, and continuing to make desperate efforts to mount. Finally the girth of the saddle broke and he fell to the ground. Here he was surrounded by the Zulus and slain with repeated thrusts of their assegais. After stripping his body bare, except for a gold chain with medallions around his neck, the savages fled. The following day his body was recovered by a detachment of English cavalry.

On the morning of the second of June, General Chelmsford sent the English Government a dispatch to inform it of the catastrophe, but, owing to necessary delays in transmission, the telegram did not reach London until the nineteenth.

The news was not published in London and Paris until the twentieth, when it created a great sensation. The body of the Prince was embalmed and sent to England, where it arrived at Plymouth the 10 July 1879.

With the death of the young Prince Imperial practically expired the last hope of the Napoleonic dynasty. The Bonaparte family, which had played such a predominating part in the history of the past century, seemed doomed to early extinction. Although Charles Bonaparte of Corsica had had five sons and ten grandsons, there were only three male descendants then living, in the fourth generation.

At the present writing, the head of the family is Prince Victor Napoleon, the elder son of Prince Napoleon, who was the son of the Great Emperor's youngest brother Jérôme by his second marriage with the Princess Catherine of Würtemberg. He was born in 1862 and is now fifty-eight years of age. For many years he had a liaison with an actress named Marie Biot, by whom he had a number of illegitimate children. For a time she occupied a house adjoining his own in the Avenue Louise at Brussels.

At a later date, in deference to the urgent entreaties of his family and of the leaders of the Bonaparte cause, he became a suitor for the hand of the Princess Clémentine, the youngest daughter of Leopold the Second, and therefore first cousin of the present King Albert. The Princess, who was born in 1872, was then nearly forty years of age. But while she was apparently willing to overlook the actress and her family, King Leopold forbade the marriage, as he did not care to incur the ill-will of the Third Republic by allying his daughter with a claimant to the throne of France. After the death of Leopold, however, the marriage took place, in November 1910, and an heir to the Bonaparte claims was born at Brussels 23 January, 1914, and named Louis Napoleon.

The only brother of Victor, Prince Louis, was a General of Cavalry in the Russian Army, and, in 1906, Governor of the Caucasus. He was at one time deeply infatuated with the Grand Duchess Helena of Russia, and after her refusal to marry him he became a confirmed bachelor.

The only other adult member of the Bonaparte family in Europe is Roland, son of that Prince Pierre who shot Victor Noir in 1870, and caused a terrible scandal during the closing days of the Second Empire. Roland was the son of a plumber's daughter by the name of Ruffin, and was in his teens before his parents were united by any legal ceremony. In 1880, Roland married Marie Blanc, daughter of the proprietor of the famous gambling establishment at Monte-Carlo. She died two years later, leaving him one daughter, and an enormous fortune. Some years later he aspired to the hand of Marie, the widowed Duchess of Aosta, a sister of Victor and Louis Bonaparte. But the late King Humbert of Italy, who was her uncle and her brother-in-law, intervened, and used his authority as chief of the house of Savoy, to which she belonged both by birth and marriage, to forbid such a mésalliance as her marriage to a man of doubtful birth and of tainted fortune.

The only other Bonapartes in existence are those in America, the descendants of Napoleon's youngest brother Jérôme by his first marriage in 1803 with Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore. It is unnecessary to recall here the base desertion by Jérôme of his wife and little boy, on the refusal of the Emperor to recognize the validity of this marriage, because it had been contracted without his consent. This son of Jérôme, named Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, had a son of the same name who entered the French army in 1854, and served with distinction in the Crimea and Italy. During the Second Empire he was successful in securing from the French Council of State a

THE PRINCE IMPERIAL

decision acknowledging the validity of his grandfather's marriage, and his father's legitimacy, but it was expressly stated that this decree did not invest the Patterson-Bonapartes with any claims to the Imperial succession. It is possible, nevertheless, that the Bonapartes may yet have to look to the United States for a representative of the dynasty.

When one recalls the astounding history of this family, in connection with which everything that seemed improbable and even impossible came to pass, who can say that an American Emperor of the French, a descendant of Betty Patterson of Baltimore, may not some day revive the glories of the First and the Second Empire?

For seven years the remains of the Emperor reposed at Chislehurst in a sarcophagus presented by Queen Victoria, above which floated the banner which had hung at Windsor over his stall as Knight of the Garter.

After the death of the Prince Imperial in South Africa in 1879, the Empress Eugénie made her home at Farnborough Hill, about half way from London to Winchester on the route to Southampton, and Camden Place, where the Emperor died, is now a golf-club house.

On a hill that rises before the house, the Empress erected the Abbey Chapel, a magnificent monument to the Emperor and the Prince. On the ninth of January 1888 the crypt received the remains of Napoleon and his son. The underground chapel lies beneath the choir of the church. To the right and

left are the tombs of the father and son. A third place is now occupied by the tomb of the Empress.

The Empress for many years spent her winters in her villa at Cap Martin, near Nice. When she passed through Paris, in going and coming, she always occupied the same suite at the Hotel Continental, looking out on the Gardens of the Tuileries, the scene of her former grandeur. As she took her daily walk in the Gardens, leaning upon a cane and supported by the arm of a faithful companion, bowed with the weight of her ninety-four years, but few passers-by recognized in the heavily-veiled lady dressed in quiet black the once beautiful and graceful Empress of the French.

The tragedy of the life of Eugénie ended with her death on Sunday, 11 July 1920, at Madrid, in the Palacio de Liria, the home of her nephew, the Duke of Alba, at the advanced age of ninety-four years, two months and six days.

Nearly half a century had elapsed since her escape from the Tuileries on the fourth of September 1870 when the Third Republic was proclaimed. During all these years she had lived in complete retirement. Perhaps no one has expressed the feeling of the younger generation for her so eloquently as Lord Rosebery. In a copy he sent her of his "Napoleon: The Last Phase," he addressed her as, "The surviving sovereign of Napoleon's dynasty: the Empress who has lived on the summits of splendor, sorrow and catastrophe with supreme dignity and courage."

To the end of her life Eugénie retained much of the charm that had held France at her feet in the early

days of her marriage with the Emperor. She never lost her interest in public affairs, with which she kept fully posted by her reading. During the Great War she worked for the victory of the Allies. Early in the conflict she gave up her home at Farnborough Hill, which was transformed into a hospital for wounded British officers. Despite her advanced age she assumed entire direction of the place and devoted herself to aiding the wounded men.

Eugénie suffered much from rheumatism, but she refused to follow the advice of her doctors and abandon the damp climate of England for the warm dry air of the Riviera where she owned an estate. Recently she had completely lost the sight of one eye, and it was feared that she would become totally blind, as all the oculists who had attended her gave no hope of saving her sight.

When the Duke of Alba visited her during the spring of 1920 at her villa at Cap Martin, where she had passed the winter as usual, she expressed a longing to return once more to her native land before she became blind. The Duke, having ascertained from the doctors that her health would permit the journey, arranged the trip, and they sailed from Marseille for Algeciras.

Eugénie expressed great delight at being once more in Spain, and at seeing again the places which were, after all, the dearest to her, and above all Andalusia, the province in which she was born. After spending a short time at her nephew's home in Seville, she was induced to visit his palace at Madrid, and it was while there that the Duke heard of the wonderful cures

effected by an oculist of Barcelona. He decided to see if something could be done to save his aunt's failing eyesight. Doctor Barraquen was summoned, and, after several examinations, decided to operate upon both eyes. No surgical instrument was used, but a new cupping process. The operation was a complete success. After a few days the Empress was able to see distinctly.

During her visit to Spain, Eugénie seemed to be in good health for a woman of her age, and on the day before her death was exceptionally well. At midday she lunched heartily. A short time later she became ill, and Doctor Grenda, physician to King Alfonso, was called. Finding her condition serious, he summoned a specialist and also two other physicians. They were unable, however, to relieve the patient, and the Empress passed away quietly on Sunday morning 11 July, shortly before eight o'clock, never having regained consciousness. Her illness was so sudden that her nephew was absent in France, and no member of her family was present at the time of her death.

On the 20 July the body of the Empress was placed in a sarcophagus between the tombs of the Emperor and the Prince Imperial in the crypt of the Chapel of St. Michael's Abbey at Farnborough. Thousands of British soldiers escorted the coffin from the station to the abbey with impressive ceremony. Cavalry with drawn swords lined the route and the path through the abbey grounds was guarded by infantry with reversed rifles.

With the death of the Empress Eugénie, there

closes a chapter in history almost unparalleled for the heights of its glory and the depths of its tragedy. No heroine of romantic fiction ever had a career so fantastic as was her life. The story of Cinderella is pale and commonplace in comparison. Born in a modest house in a small street in Granada, the daughter of a Spanish adventuress, she led for years a Bohemian life in Paris and other European capitals, attracting many admirers by her beauty, but finding no one willing to marry her. Finally she met Napoleon and easily won his susceptible heart. Having met with refusals everywhere in his quest for a bride among the daughters of the royal houses of Europe, the Emperor suddenly startled the world by the announcement of his intention to marry the lovely Spaniard. The beauty of the future Empress was undoubted. "The Emperor has only to show his bride," said Morny, "and Paris will award her the golden apple."

It is too soon to pass a final judgment on Eugénie. The sorrow of the lonely woman in exile, bereft of her husband and son, uttering no word in her defence, has been generally respected during the many long years of her later life. For this reason much of the history of France during the closing years of the Second Empire has remained untold until the present day. The rôle played by the Empress in such decisive events as the Italian imbroglio, the Mexican adventure and the war with Prussia, has never been definitely settled. Memoirs withheld from publication until after her death may now be expected to shed new light on these problems.

"I have lived — I have been. I do not desire to be anything more, not even a memory. I live, but I am no more — a shadow, a phantom, a grief which walks."

No words more pathetic than these were ever uttered by one who had gained the highest prizes this world can offer. "A sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things."

Those who visit Paris to-day, and from the Arc de Triomphe look down the Champs-Elysées, across the Place de la Concorde, and the Gardens beyond, to the unmeaning desolation of the space once occupied by the central façade of the Tuileries, can scarcely realize the scene as it was before the insurrection of the Commune in 1871. "Then," says Hare, "between the beautiful chestnut avenues, across the brilliant flowers and quaint orange trees of the Gardens, beyond the sparkling glory of the fountains, rose the majestic façade of a palace, infinitely harmonious in color, indescribably picturesque and noble in form, interesting beyond description from its associations, appealing to the noblest and most touching recollections, which all its surroundings led up to and were glorified by, which was the centre and soul of Paris, the first spot to be visited by strangers, the one point in the capital which attracted the sympathies of the world. It is all gone now. Malignant folly ruined it; apathetic and narrow-minded policy declined to restore and preserve it."

The site of the Palace, then outside the city walls, was occupied originally by a manufactory of tiles,

hence the name of Tuileries. Catherine de Médicis, the widow of Henry the Second, acquired the property, and, in 1564 employed Philibert Delorme to build a magnificent palace there. He erected the façade towards the gardens, and his work was continued by Jean Bullant, who built the pavilions at either end of his façade. Under Henri Quatre the south wing was continued to the Pavillon de Flore on the Seine. The space on the north continued to be unoccupied except by detached buildings until Louis Quatorze completed it to the Pavillon de Marsan on the Rue de Rivoli.

The Tuileries were seldom occupied by royalty until the last century. Napoleon came there as First Consul in 1800, and from that time the palace was the principal residence of the rulers of France until its destruction by the Commune.

In the Chapel of the Tuileries, Napoleon was married by Cardinal Fesch to Josephine, who had long been his wife by the civil bond. Pius Seventh, when he came to Paris for the coronation, resided in the Pavillon de Flore. In the Tuileries, the divorce of Josephine was pronounced. Here Napoleon came on his return from Elba, and was borne up the Staircase of Honor in the arms of his Old Guard, by the light of their torches.

After the fall of Napoleon, the Tuileries continued to be the habitual seat of the executive power until 1870. During the Second Empire it was the city residence of Napoleon the Third. Here he was affianced to Eugénie, and here the Prince Imperial was born. At the palace, the Empress heard of the surrender at

Sedan, and thence she fled from the fury of the mob on the fourth of September 1870, passing through the connecting wings of the galleries of the Louvre, and escaping at the further end.

The Tuileries, which had already been four times attacked and pillaged by the populace of Paris, twice in 1792, and again during the revolutions of July 1830 and February 1848, were wilfully burnt by the Commune, 23 May 1871, after the Versailles troops had entered the city. Internally, the palace was completely destroyed, but the walls remained standing, and the beautiful central Pavillon de l'Horloge was almost entirely uninjured. After allowing these ruins, by far the most interesting in France, to stand for twelve years, the Government of the Third Republic in 1883 ordered them razed to the ground, and thus was lost forever to Paris its most interesting historical monument. The two pavilions of Flore and Marsan, which terminate the wings of the Louvre, in spite of the modifications which they have experienced, alone recall the former building. These were completely rebuilt in 1875, and are now occupied by government offices.

The ancient site of the Tuileries is now covered with flower beds. This leaves the former quadrangle of the Louvre incomplete, and, from the picturesque point of view, decidedly mars the general effect. Another generation, less jealous of the past, and more mindful of the glories of France, may decide to restore this historical monument.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

1808–1873

CHARACTER OF NAPOLEON THE THIRD

His Mission — His Heredity — His Youth and Education — His Mother's Influence — His Personal Attraction — His Excellence in Sports — His Powers as a Linguist — His Efforts to Improve France — His Personality — His Entourage — His Dignity — His Affability — His Tenacity — His Lack of Decision — His Love of Startling Effects — His Impassibility — His Personal Appearance — His Place in History

FOR many years the life of Napoleon the Third was an enigma; it escaped analysis, and, by the violence of its contrasts, provoked the most divergent opinions. Time, however, has served to dispel much of the mystery of his personality and of his politics, to which a chain of remarkable circumstances gave so exceptional a character. Romantic by inheritance from his mother; self-restrained and taciturn like his father; very unequal in his work, surprising the world by measures taken too hastily, or disappointing it by his delay in reaching a decision, he had at all times only one fixed idea: the belief that he was the legitimate successor of his uncle, and foreordained to carry out his Imperial policies. Like the Great Emperor, he believed that he had a "mission" to fulfill, and to this he devoted all his thoughts and all his energies. As the result of his ruminations he had evolved an ideal of Imperialism, of a sovereign

who should be at once the elect of God and of the people.

Either from sincere admiration, or through an adroit calculation, Louis Napoleon wished not only to carry to completion the unfinished task of his uncle, but to imitate and copy him in every detail of his career. In spite of his humane impulses, and his natural aversion to war, he felt that his heredity imposed the obligation of military glory. Hence the numerous wars during his reign. He had made a profound study of military affairs, and possessed much academic knowledge of the subject, but on the field of battle he failed to inspire confidence. In 1855, when he was determined to go to the Crimea and take command of the Allied armies, his old friend Persigny, the French Ambassador at London, said to the English Minister, Lord Malmesbury: "At whatever cost, we must prevent this; better even make peace if necessary. If he goes, the army is lost, and we shall have a revolution at home."

As a boy, Louis Napoleon was bright, high-spirited, and affectionate, delicate and sensitive. His grandmother, Josephine, called him a *doux-entêté*, and her favorite name for him was "Oui-oui."

As a youth, in the college at Augsburg, his professors spoke of him with esteem as well as affection. He went through the discipline of the gymnasium with credit. During his vacations he travelled with his mother over every part of Switzerland. He visited his uncle Eugène at Munich and his father at Florence, and spent many winter months with his mother at Rome and Geneva. In the course of

these travels he became acquainted through the fascination of his mother and her love of society with many of the leading intelligences of his time. This companionship, and his mother's conversation, as well as that of his father, helped to develop his mind rapidly. Hortense took great pains to form his tastes and character, by giving him the society of the great and gifted.

"Yet it cannot be denied," says Jerrold, "that the effect exercised by Queen Hortense on the character of her son Louis was enervating. She was a lover and seeker of pleasure to the end. All her friends were delightful and cultured companions. But she was no strict mistress of morals. There was much of the Bohemian in her nature. Louis could not but become kindly and charitable under the guidance and with the example of his mother, but he could hardly fail also to feel the influence of the very thin moral atmosphere of her little court. The pleasures, the conversation, the southern *brio*, that threw a rosy tint about slips in morals, were enervating surroundings to the young man whose single hand was to hold sway and mastery over an empire. In after-life, he showed deep traces of both the good and the evil of his mother's teaching and the society in which she brought him up. The good blossomed in a thousand acts of kindness, and the evil appeared in many weaknesses — all those of a tender heart — for which a bitter penalty was paid in the end."

Like Hortense, Napoleon had the faculty of attracting people to him through the genuine interest he was able to take in their pursuits and hopes, and through

the natural kindliness of his heart. He possessed the same qualities which made people cling to his mother, strangely mixed with the reserve and taciturnity of his father. It was a glory peculiar to both of the Napoleons that they were heroes to their valets. Charles Thélin, the valet of Louis Napoleon, remained devoted to him all his life, through good fortune and bad. He shared his imprisonment at Ham, helped his escape, and became under the Second Empire the Treasurer of his Privy Purse and an officer of the Légion d'honneur.

When enrolled among the Swiss federal troops in the camp at Thun, Louis Napoleon was one of Colonel Dufour's best pupils in mathematics and artillery, and different works which he published show that his studies were neither superficial nor circumscribed. A fellow officer wrote of him at this time: "He is calm and thoughtful without ever ceasing to be affable. His vast military learning, especially in his own arm of the service, artillery, excited general surprise." In youth, as in mature years, he seems to have been studious, reflective and taciturn.

As a young boy, Louis Napoleon was very delicate, but through the care of his mother he later became strong and vigorous, and so remained until his health was permanently impaired by the years of imprisonment in the damp and malarious Château of Ham. He excelled in every branch of athletic sports. He was very fond of shooting and went frequently to the *tir cantonal* where he carried off many prizes as a marksman. He was an excellent fencer, and practiced every week with a fencing-master who came from Constance.

He was one of the best swimmers in the lake. He was a superb rider, and was known as one of the most daring horsemen in the canton.

At the time he became Emperor, Napoleon the Third was more extensively and more thoroughly educated than any other prince who ever ascended a throne. He spoke French, English, German, Italian and Spanish like a native. He was a good classical scholar, profound in mathematics and physics. During his youth and manhood, he had been a diligent and systematic student, and his years at the "University of Ham" had made him one of the best read and best informed men of his time.

As soon as he arrived at sovereign power he began in earnest the series of efforts for the improvement of the conditions of the working classes upon which he had meditated much when in prison and in exile. In the course of his reign he made many errors, but he showed at all times a great desire for the improvement of mankind, and a knowledge of the wants and desires of the humbler classes far deeper than that of any contemporary ruler. The good which he was able to accomplish was only a small part of what he had in mind, but the improvement in the actual conditions of France during his reign was immense, and for this he deserves full credit.

As Prince-President, as soon as the supreme power was in his hands, he had lost no time in beginning his work. He decreed the immediate laying down of the railway round Paris, ordered the vigorous renewal of public works in the capital, and the immediate demolition of the unsightly buildings that stood between

the Tuileries and the Louvre, thereby beginning the great work of the completion of the Louvre and its junction with the Tuileries, which will always be associated with his name. Nor were his activities confined to Paris. Local improvements were begun in all the principal provincial cities; both the canal and railway systems received a vigorous impetus; and telegraph lines were built to connect the principal cities.

In his celebrated speech at Bordeaux, on the eve of the proclamation of the Empire, he had said:

"Like the Emperor, I have many conquests to make. We have vast waste territories to drain and cultivate, roads to open, ports to be deepened, rivers to be made navigable, railways to be connected. Opposite Marseille we have a great kingdom to assimilate to France. We have to connect our great western ports with the American continent by lines of steamers. These are the conquests which I meditate."

Says Jerrold: "In the hands of a bad, self-seeking man, such power as that which was embodied in Napoleon the Third on his accession to the throne might have led France to moral and material ruin; but the prince to whom she had confided her destinies was liberal, wise and humane, and he used the mighty force he held as a sacred trust, of which France might ask him an account at any moment. According to his light, he sought the happiness of his country, with a passionate longing to see it great and prosperous. Hence the all but absolute power he held, at the opening of his reign, conferred substantial and lasting benefits on his subjects."

As Emperor he set on foot that mighty series of

public works in the capital which was destined to make Paris the *Ville lumière* of the world and to be an immortal monument to his memory. The commercial and building actitivity in Paris was simply prodigious. Guizot said at the time that, "The city of Paris looks like a town that has been bombarded," and added, "but if the Emperor destroys like an Attila, he builds like an Aladdin."

No finer tribute to Napoleon the man was ever paid than that of Queen Victoria, who, after her return to Osborne from a ten days' visit to the Emperor and Empress at Saint-Cloud during the Exposition of 1855, wrote in her Diary: "His society is particularly agreeable and pleasant; there is something fascinating, melancholy and engaging, which draws you to him; he undoubtedly has a most extraordinary power of attracting people to him!"

Baron von Moltke, who visited Paris a year later, and who certainly cannot be accused of partiality towards his host, in private letters which were first published in 1878, said: "Napoleon has nothing of the sombre sternness of his uncle, neither his imperial demeanor nor his deliberate attitude. 'Il ne se fâche jamais,' say the people who are in most frequent intercourse with him. 'Il est toujours poli et bon envers nous; ce n'est que la bonté de son cœur et sa confiance qui pourront lui devenir dangereux.' Napoleon has shown wisdom, firmness, self-confidence, but also moderation and clemency; and though simple in his dress, he does not forget that the French like to see their Sovereigns surrounded by a brilliant Court."

Monsieur Ollivier has thus described his first impressions of the Emperor at the time he became connected with the Government in January 1867: "People have formed an erroneous idea of the person of the Emperor. He is represented as taciturn, impassible; and in truth he appears so on public occasions. In his cabinet he is otherwise. His face is smiling. Although he does not break through a certain reserve, which looks almost like timidity, his address is cordial, of touching simplicity, and of seductive politeness. He listens like one who wishes to remember. When he has nothing decisive to answer, he lets the conversation flow. He interrupts, only to present, and this in excellent terms, a serious objection. His mind is not fettered by any mastering prejudice. You may say everything to him, even that which is contrary to his opinion, even the truth, provided you speak quietly and in personal sympathy with him. His changes, which have looked like dissimulation to many, are the natural movements of an impressionable nature. He forms his resolutions slowly, and he is not displeased when they are forced upon him by the weight of circumstances. If he were left alone, he would adapt himself to liberty."

No one had fewer illusions than the Emperor regarding the moral charcter of many of those in his entourage. He kept people in his service less from esteem and attachment than from custom and reluctance to make a change. For the most part he had a very poor opinion of his counsellors, his servants and his courtiers. On the other hand, he never forgot a good service rendered him. Like his mother, he prac-

ticed tolerance to an excessive degree, not only in politics but also in morals. All who came in contact with him yielded to the charm of his personality. Partisans or antagonists, once they knew him, united in saying: "It is impossible not to like him." He had inherited his attractive personality from his mother, and this also was the compelling charm of Josephine. He received from all who met him the title of a "perfect gentleman." This the First Napoleon never was. With all his genius, he never displayed a true grandeur of soul, nor a real generosity of heart. If his nephew nad less claim to the admiration of men, he had better rights to their affections. Louis Napoleon never forgot the least service rendered him and, when he was in a position to do so, recompensed it in the most thoughtful and generous manner.

The Great Emperor was always lacking in true dignity; as some one once said of him, he seemed to have been created to live in a tent. He did not know how to enter or leave a room, how to receive people either as a sovereign or a man of the world. His receptions were like a review of his troops. His Grand Chamberlain, Talleyrand, used to circulate around the rooms, saying to every one, "Amuse yourselves, gentlemen, it is the wish of the Emperor." On the other hand, all who visited the Tuileries during the reign of the Third Napoleon were a unit in describing the charm of the Imperial fêtes.

In Napoleon the Third, the spirit of repartee was entirely lacking. Very fluent with his pen, he was very quiet and taciturn in general conversation. His uncle, on the other hand, was as brilliant in speech

as he was in action. Every one listened to him with interest, curiosity and pleasure.

Hortense often cautioned her son against the too great effusion in speech which was one of the faults of the Great Emperor. She said: "Un prince doit savoir se taire, ou parler pour ne rien dire."

Napoleon the Third had periods of gaiety, when, contrary to his habitude, he was expansive. Free from etiquette, he could be gracious and smiling. In the intimacy of his family he dropped the sovereign, and talked and laughed, like any good bourgeois. But even during the happiest days of the Empire he always was prone to melancholy. Gravity was the basis of his character.

Tenacity was his strongest characteristic. An idea once fixed in his head, he never abandoned it, although he was often very slow in carrying it out, as, for example, his delay of a year in assuming the Imperial crown, when it was at all times within his grasp.

It was one of his weaknesses to meditate too long before acting. Naturally inclined to temporize, he carried out slowly the plans upon which he had long decided. Towards the end of his reign, when matters of the highest importance called for immediate action, this defect in his character became a positive fault. As Bismarck once said, "Il y a des moments, dans la politique extérieure, qui ne reviennent pas." Such a moment was the short period of six weeks prior to Sadowa in 1866, when he lost forever the last chance of curbing the rising power of Prussia, which four years later was to overwhelm France and destroy his

dynasty. By taking too much time to prepare the ground and await the hour, he let pass the decisive moment for action. His fixed habit of procrastination caused him to lose an opportunity which never returned.

By an unfortunate contradiction in his character, he often embarked rashly and hastily in enterprises which should have had long and careful examination. Such was the unfortunate Mexican expedition, which did so much to ruin his prestige in Europe. When he was in a mood to act, he went ahead blindly without taking counsel with any one, without even the knowledge of his Ministers. He did not stop to reflect, he formed his resolution and acted with a precipitancy which gave no opportunity for drawing back. It seemed to give him particular satisfaction, by some unexpected move, to take everybody by surprise. Several times these exploits turned out well, but he tempted his fate too often.

It was the boast of the First Napoleon that he never held a Council of War, and he never did until the disastrous days of 1812 and 1813, when for the first time he began to lose confidence in his "star." But his nephew acted with more deference for his counsellors. In conference his opposition was always dissembled, and his real plans concealed. He only revealed his decisions when they had been finally reached, and often in part executed.

People have often spoken of the phlegm of Napoleon the Third, but it was an acquired, not a natural gift. Like Talleyrand, he was very quick-tempered in his youth, and he had gradually disciplined his

nerves and acquired the art of concealing his feelings under a veil of impassivity. "When I met him again in 1848," related his old childhood friend Hortense Cornu, "I asked him what was the matter with his eyes. He replied: 'Nothing.' A few days later when I saw him again, his eyes seemed even more peculiar. Finally I discovered that he had formed the habit of keeping his eye-lids lowered, half-closed, which gave him a dreamy and vacant expression."

In his personal appearance, Louis Napoleon resembled his mother more than the Bonapartes. He was of medium height, a little taller than the First Napoleon, who was about five feet six. He had the long body and short legs of his uncle, and therefore made a better appearance on horseback than at any other time. He had the high, broad, straight forehead, the light brown hair, and the well-shaped head, as well as the blue-gray eyes of the Great Emperor, but did not possess his cameo-like profile, with his round and firm chin. To conceal his defect in this latter respect, he wore all his life the chin-whisker, slight in youth, but full and flowing in later life, which became known as an "imperial." His nose was large and aquiline, and not Roman like that of his uncle. Distinction was not a striking trait in his appearance, although as Emperor he had a certain dignity of bearing.

"The character of Napoleon the Third," says Hassall, "is one of the most complex in modern French history. Kindness, generosity, gratitude, were all found in him; he was aware of the needs of the world and of the national aspirations of France. He had

long been a private citizen, and he alone of French politicians had a practical knowledge of foreign countries. Much that he did was beneficial to Europe and to France. His wish for the overthrow of the Austrians in Italy, his liberal commercial ideas, his opposition to the Jesuits, all were parts of a policy to be expected from a man who had seen much of the world. At the same time it is undoubted that he was a dreamer and idealist, with much of the fatalist in his composition. He showed infinite patience and perseverance in carrying out his ideas, and throughout his reign he endeavored to shape the course of history and to direct the course of the European powers."

Having had the good fortune to arrive at supreme power through an appeal to the Napoleonic legend, it was his misfortune for the rest of his career to be expected by the world to live up to the Napoleonic tradition. His uncle was not only the greatest military genius of all time, but also one of the greatest administrators and statesmen known to history. But through the growth of the Napoleonic legend, in song and story, during the quarter of a century following his downfall and tragic exile and death at Saint Helena, he had been exalted from a super-man to a very demi-god. No mortal man could ever have measured up to such a standard. That his nephew failed to do so was his misfortune and not his fault. Napoleon the Third was beyond question one of the leading men of public affairs during the latter part of the 19th century. During the two decades that followed the Revolution of 1848 he played the

most important rôle not only in France but in all Europe.

In conclusion we can only repeat:

The story of his life reads like the pages of a great historical novel, and may well be called The Romance of an Emperor.

THE BONAPARTES
GENEALOGICAL TABLE
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES
CHRONOLOGY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE BONAPARTES

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

I	II	III	IV	V
1 Charles Bonaparte	2 Joseph			
	3 Napoleon I	7 Napoleon II		
	4 Lucien	8 Charles	15 Joseph	
			16 Lucien	
			17 Charles	
		9 Louis Lucien		
		10 Pierre	18 Roland	
	5 Louis	11 Napoleon Charles		
		12 Napoleon Louis		
		13 Napoleon III	19 Prince Imperial	
	6 Jerome	14 Prince Napoleon	20 Victor	22 Louis
			21 Louis	

Compiled by the Author

THE BONAPARTE FAMILY

First Generation

1. Charles Bonaparte, born at Ajaccio, Corsica, 29 March, 1746; died at Montpellier, France, 24 February, 1785; in 1765, married Letitia Ramolino, born at Ajaccio, 24 August, 1750; died at Rome, 2 February, 1836. Children: (2) Joseph, (3) Napoleon, (4) Lucien, (5) Louis, (6) Jerome, Elise, Pauline, Caroline.

Second Generation

2. Joseph, King of Spain, born at Corte, Corsica, 7 January, 1768; died at Florence, 28 July, 1844; in 1794 married Julie Clary. No sons.
3. Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, born at Ajaccio, Corsica, 15 August, 1769; died at Longwood, Saint Helena, 5 May, 1821; married, 1st, 9 March, 1796, Josephine de Beauharnais, born at Trois-Ilets, Martinique, 23 June, 1763; died at Malmaison, 29 May, 1814; divorced 1809; married, 2nd, 11 March, 1810, Marie-Louise, born at Vienna, 12 December, 1791; died at Vienna, December, 1847. Son: (7) Napoleon II.
4. Lucien, Prince of Canino (in Italy), born at Ajaccio, 21 May, 1775; died at Viterbo, Italy, 30 June, 1840; married, 1st, 4 May, 1794, Christine Boyer, by whom he had two daughters; married, 2nd, 23 October, 1803, Alexandrine de Bleschamp (Madame Jouberthou). Children: (8) Charles, (9) Louis Lucien, (10) Pierre and two other sons and four daughters.
5. Louis, King of Holland, born at Ajaccio, 2 September, 1778; died at Leghorn, Italy, 25 July, 1846; married 4 January, 1802, Hortense de Beauharnais, born at Paris 10 April, 1783; died at Arenenberg, Switzerland, 5 October, 1837. Chil-

dren: (11) NAPOLEON CHARLES, (12) NAPOLEON LOUIS, and (13) LOUIS NAPOLEON (NAPOLEON III).

6. JEROME, King of Westphalia, born at Ajaccio, 15 November, 1784; died near Paris, 24 June, 1860; married, 1st, 24 December, 1803, Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore, born 6 February, 1785; died 4 April, 1879; one son, Jerome Napoleon, born at Camberwell, England, 7 July, 1805; died at Pride's Crossing, Massachusetts, 4 September, 1893; he had two sons, Jerome Napoleon and Charles Joseph. The former has a son of the same name, born 1878. Charles Joseph has no children. King Jerome married, 2nd, 22 August, 1807, after annulment of the Patterson marriage, the Princess Catherine of Würtemberg. Children: (14) NAPOLEON JOSEPH, and Mathilde, born at Trieste, 20 May, 1820; died at Paris, 2 January 1904; married Prince Demidov.

ELISE, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, born at Ajaccio, 3 January, 1777; died near Trieste, 6 August, 1820; married in 1797, Félix Bacciochi.

PAULINE, Princesse Borghèse, born at Ajaccio, 20 October, 1780; died at Florence, 9 June, 1825; married 28 August 1803, Prince Borghèse.

CAROLINE, Queen of Naples, born at Ajaccio, 25 March, 1782; died at Florence, 18 May, 1839; married in 1800 JOACHIM MURAT, who became King of Naples in 1808. He was born 25 March, 1771; executed in Italy, 13 October, 1815. Two sons:

(*a*) NAPOLEON ACHILLE MURAT, born 1801, died 1847, who emigrated to America in 1821, and was postmaster at Tallahassee, Florida, from 1826 to 1838. He married a great-niece of Washington.

(*b*) NAPOLEON LUCIEN CHARLES MURAT, born 1803, died 1878; married Georgiana Frazer. He also lived in America from 1825 to 1848; was given title of Prince Murat by Napoleon III. Children: Joachim, Prince Murat (1834–1901), Achille (1847–1895), Louis (1851–).

Third Generation

7. Napoleon II, King of Rome, Duke of Reichstadt, born at Paris, 20 March, 1811; died at Vienna, 22 July, 1832. Never married.
8. Charles, born at Paris, 24 May, 1803, died at Paris, 29 July, 1857, married at Brussels, 29 June, 1822, his cousin Zénaïde, born 8 July, 1804, died 8 August, 1854, daughter of King Joseph, by whom he had three sons and five daughters. The branch is now extinct.
9. Lucien Louis, born at Thorngrove, England, 4 January, 1813; died 3 November, 1891; married; left no children.
10. Pierre, born at Rome, 12 September, 1815; died at Versailles, 7 April, 1881; married 3 November, 1867, Justine Eléonore Ruffin, by whom he had, before his marriage, two children: (18) Roland and Jeanne. In January, 1870, he killed Victor Noir.
11. Napoleon Charles, born at Paris, 10 October, 1802; died at The Hague, 5 May, 1807.
12. Napoleon Louis, born at Paris, 11 October, 1804; died at Forli, Italy 27 March, 1831; married his cousin, Charlotte, (1802–1839) daughter of King Joseph. No children.
13. Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, born at Paris, 20 April, 1808; died at Chislehurst, near London, 9 January, 1873; married 30 January, 1853, Eugénie de Montijo, born at Granada, Spain, 5 May, 1826; died at Madrid, 11 July, 1920. One son: (19) Napoleon Louis, the Prince Imperial.
14. Napoleon Joseph, called Prince Napoleon, born at Trieste, 9 September, 1822; died at Rome, 17 March 1891; married in January, 1859, Princess Clotilde, daughter of King Victor Emmanuel. Children: (20) Victor, (21) Louis, and Marie Lætitia born 20 December, 1866, who married in September, 1888, her maternal uncle Amadeus, Duke of Aosta, ex-King of Spain, and brother of King Humbert of Italy, by whom she had one son, Humbert, born in 1889.

Fourth Generation

15. Joseph, Prince of Canino, born at Philadelphia, 13 February, 1824; died 1865; left no heirs.
16. Lucien, Cardinal Bonaparte, born at Rome, 15 November, 1828; died in 1895.
17. Charles, born 5 February, 1839, died in 1899; married 26 November, 1859, the Princess Ruspoli, by whom he had two daughters, born in 1870 and 1872.
18. Roland, born 19 May, 1858; married 7 November, 1880, Marie Blanc, the daughter of the proprietor of the gambling establishment at Monte Carlo. She died 1 August, 1882, leaving him one daughter and an enormous fortune. His daughter, Marie, in 1907, married Prince George, second son of King George of Greece.
19. Napoleon Louis, the Prince Imperial, born at Paris 16 March, 1856; killed in Zululand, South Africa, 1 June, 1879. Never married.
20. Napoleon Victor, Prince Napoleon, present head of the Bonaparte family, born at Paris, 18 July, 1862; married 14 November, 1910, the Princess Clémentine, born 1872, daughter of Leopold II, King of the Belgians. She is a cousin of the present King Albert; two children: Clotilde, born at Brussels, 20 March, 1912, and (22) Louis Napoleon, born at Brussels, 23 January, 1914.
21. Louis Napoleon, born at Paris, 16 July, 1864. He was a General of Cavalry in the Russian Army, and, in 1906, Governor of the Caucasus. Never married.

Fifth Generation

22. Louis Napoleon, son and heir of Prince Napoleon, born at Brussels, 23 January, 1914.

CHRONOLOGY

1778 Birth of Louis Bonaparte, at Ajaccio, 2 September
1783 Birth of Hortense de Beauharnais, at Paris, 10 April
1802 Marriage of Louis and Hortense, at Paris, 4 January
Birth of Napoleon Charles, at Paris, 10 October
1804 Birth of Napoleon Louis, at Paris, 11 October
1806 Louis, King of Holland, 5 June
1807 Death of Napoleon Charles, at The Hague, 5 May
1808 Birth of Louis Napoleon, at Paris, 20 April
1810 Abdication of King Louis, 1 July
1814 Abdication of Napoleon, 11 April
1815 Napoleon Returns from Elba, 2 March
Battle of Waterloo, 18 June
Hortense Leaves Paris, 19 July
1816 Hortense at Constance, Switzerland
1817 Purchase of Arenenberg, 17 February
1831 Italian Insurrection, March
Death of Napoleon Louis, at Forli, 27 March
1832 Death of Napoleon the Second, at Vienna, 22 July
1836 The Strasbourg Attempt, 30 October
Louis Exiled to America, 21 November
1837 Louis Arrives in London, 10 July
Death of Hortense, at Arenenberg, 5 October
1838 Louis Leaves Switzerland for London, 14 October
1840 The Boulogne Attempt, 6 August
Prisoner at Ham, 7 October
1846 Escape from Ham, 25 May
1848 Revolution at Paris, 24 February
Louis Napoleon Elected Deputy, 17 September
President of the Republic, 20 December
1851 Coup d'État, 2 December
1852 Second Empire Proclaimed, 2 December
1853 Marriage with Eugénie, 30 January

CHRONOLOGY

1854 Crimean War Begins, March
Alma, 20 September; Balaklava, 25 October; Inkerman 5 November
1855 Exposition — Visit of Queen Victoria, in June
Surrender of Sebastopol, 8 September
1856 Birth of Prince Imperial, 16 March
Treaty of Paris, 30 March
1858 Attempt of Orsini, 14 January
Cavour at Plombières, July
1859 The Italian War
Magenta, 4 June; Solferino, 24 June
Treaty of Villafranca, 11 July
1860 Annexation of Savoy and Nice, March
Visit to Corsica, September
1862 Mexican Expedition, January
1864 Maximilian Lands at Vera Cruz, 28 May
1865 Death of Morny, 10 March
1866 Battle of Sadowa, 3 July
1867 Second Paris Exposition
Maximilian Shot in Mexico, 19 July
1870 Hohenzollern Candidature, July
Ems Dispatch, 13 July
War with Prussia, 19 July
Wörth, 6 August; Gravelotte, 18 August
Surrender at Sedan, 2 September
Third French Republic, 4 September
1871 Occupation of Paris, 1 March
Napoleon at Chislehurst, 20 March
Peace of Frankfort, 10 May
1873 Death of Napoleon, 9 January
1879 Death of Prince Imperial, 1 June
1920 Death of Eugénie, 11 July

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INDEX

INDEX

Alba, Duchess of, 200, 211
Alexander I, Czar, 20
Alexander II, Czar, 163, 219
"Ambès, Baron d'," 9, 17
Anglo-French alliance of 1854, 159
Anglo-French commercial treaty, 224
Aosta, Duchess of, 304
Arenenberg, château of, 28, 29, 48
Arèse, Count, 71, 179, 195
Army, French, 99, 258, 259, 262
Aumale, Duc d', 46, 134
Austria, precipitates the Italian war, 184; her defeats in Italy, 185; war with Prussia, 247

Baden, Grand Duchess Stéphanie of, see Stéphanie
Baden, meeting of Sovereigns at, 209
Balaclava, battle of, see Crimean War
Bazaine, Marshal, 276, 281
Beauharnais, Vicomte de, 3
Beauharnais, Prince Eugène, 24, 28, 35, 36, 76, 150
Beauregard, Comtesse de, 110, 143
Benedetti, M., 264
Bertrand, Abbé, 32
Biarritz, Napoleon III and Count Bismarck at, 246
Bismarck, Count, in Paris during the Exhibition of 1867, 219; Prussian Minister, 244; speech to the Prussian chamber, 245; repairs to Biarritz, 246; efforts to secure the neutrality of France in the war with Austria, 247; the Hohenzollern candidature, 263; the Ems dispatch, 266; conversations with the Emperor at Sedan, 288
Bonaparte, Caroline, 7, 74
Bonaparte, King Jérôme, 10, 52, 123, 137
Bonaparte, King Joseph, 52, 69, 71
Bonaparte, King Louis, his youth, 3; his character, 4; his marriage, 7; first years of married life, 8; governor of Paris, 12; King of Holland, 13; quarrels with his wife, 13; objects to becoming King of Spain, 18; abdicates, 19; obtains his eldest son after a lawsuit, 26; death of, 112
Bonaparte, Prince Napoleon, 167, 179, 183
Bonaparte, Prince Napoleon Charles, 9, 14
Bonaparte, Prince Napoleon Louis, 12, 38, 40, 41
Bonaparte, Prince Pierre, 304
Bonaparte, Prince Roland, 304
Bonaparte, Prince Victor Napoleon, 303
Bordeaux, Duke of, see Chambord
Bordeaux, speech of the Prince President at, 160
Borny, battle of, 278
Boulogne, Prince Louis Napoleon's expedition against, 89–91
Brault, Eléonore, 62
Brunswick, Duke of, 105, 106
Bulwer, Sir E. L., his estimate of Prince Louis Napoleon, 86

Carlotta, Empress, 242
Castiglione, Comtesse de, 177
Cauterêts, 14
Cavaignac, General, 96, 118, 123, 124
Cavour, Count, 175–187
Chambord, Comte de, 127
Changarnier, General, 127, 131, 276
Chantilly, château of, 45
Charlemagne, 84, 102, 103
Chateaubriand, M. de, 53
Chevalier, M. Michel, 225
Chinese War, 237–240
Chislehurst, Napoleon at, 293–297

INDEX

Clémentine, Princess, 303
Clotilde, Princess, 179
Cobden, Richard, 225
Conneau, Dr., 72, 108, 115, 179
Constance, residence of Queen Hortense at, 26–27
Constantine, Grand Duke, 170
Constitution of 1852, 141
Cornu, Mme., 98
Corps Législatif, 155–156
Corvisart, Dr., 16
Coup d'état, 131–141
Cowley, Lord, 141, 149
Crimean War, 160–164

Denmark, Austro-Prussian invasion of, 245
Ducrot, General, 258; at Sedan, 284
Dumas, Alexandre, 55
Duncombe, Sir Thomas, 105, 106

Elysée Palace, 21, 126
Ems, M. Benedetti's interviews with the King of Prussia at, 265–268
England, excitement in, on subject of national defences, 148; recognizes Napoleon, 149; alliance with France, 161; visit of the French Emperor and Empress to, 165; attitude on the Italian question, 188; commercial treaty with France, 224; reception of Emperor in, after Sedan, 293
Eugénie, Empress, early sympathy for the prisoner of Ham, 104; her beauty and education, 152; presented at the Elysée, 152; her engagement to Napoleon III announced in a speech from the throne, 152; her marriage ceremonial, 153; visit to Windsor, 164; birth of Prince Imperial, 167; her character, 254; liberation of Italy, 255; influence on public affairs, 255, 260; advocates the war against Prussia, 256; opposes return of Napoleon to Paris, 281; visit to the Emperor at Wilhelmshöhe, 292; at his deathbed, 296; residence at Farnborough and Cap Martin, 305–306; death at Madrid, 306–308; interred at Farnborough, 308; her career, 309
Exhibition, Paris, of 1855, 170
Exhibition, Paris, of 1867, 218

Farnborough Hill, residence of Empress, 305
February, 1848, revolution of, 118
Fesch, Cardinal, 43
Flahaut, M. de, 19, 20
Flahaut, Mme. de, 134
Fleury, Colonel (General), 132
Fontainebleau, baptismal ceremony in the Palace chapel, 18
France, under Louis-Philippe, 60, 83, 87; under the Provisional Government of 1848, 118; election of President in 1848, 124; conflict between the President and the Assembly, 130; approves the coup d'état, 141; the Constitution of 1852, 141; alliance with England, 159; prosperity of, under Napoleon III, 166; alliance with Sardinia, 184; the Italian campaign, 185; commercial treaty with England, 224; repeal of the navigation laws, 229; war with Prussia, 270; popularity of the war, 271; negotiations with Italy and their failure, 281
Francis Joseph, Emperor, 150, 186
Franco-German war, political calm preceding, 261; the Hohenzollern candidature for the throne of Spain, 263; Duc de Gramont's instructions to M. Benedetti, 264; council at Saint-Cloud, 265; Count Bismarck's machinations, 266; Prussian preparations, 272; the French unprepared for war, 272; position of the French and German forces, 275; first disasters of the French, 275; Marshal Bazaine in command, 276; movements of the armies, 285; French retreat and further disasters, 285; Sedan, 285.
Frederick Charles of Prussia, Prince, 275
Frederick, Crown Prince of Prussia, 275

INDEX

Gambetta, M. Léon, 293
Garibaldi, General, 202, 203, 205
Gordon, Mme., see Brault, Eléonore
Gottlieben Castle, 81
Gramont, Duc de, 190, 201, 264
Gravelotte, battle of, 280
Greville, Sir Charles, 226
Guizot, M., 116, 117, 227

Ham, Château, Prince Louis Napoleon's imprisonment in, 95; escape from, 107; destruction of, 95
Hamilton, Duke of, 112, 141
Hamilton, Duchess of, 85, 111, 151
Haussmann, Baron, 212
Hohenzollern, Prince Leopold of, candidate for the throne of Spain, 263
Holland, Prince Louis Bonaparte, King of, 13, 18
"Holy Places," 161
Hortense (de Beauharnais), Queen of Holland, 3; description and character of, 5; a pupil of Mme. Campan, 5; her accomplishments, 5; her marriage, 7; first year of her marriage, 8; at Saint-Leu, 12; her court at The Hague, 13; grief at the loss of her son, 14; birth of Napoleon III, 16; her separation from her husband, 19; her residence at Saint-Leu, 20; her interview with the Emperor, 21; the Hundred Days, 21; exiled from France, 25; her journey to Switzerland, 25; lawsuit with her husband, 26; settles at Aix, 26; her journey to Constance, 26; and residence there, 27; her life at Arenenberg, 30–32; her affection for her children, 31; at Rome in 1830, 39; her stay at Florence, 41; her son's illness at Ancona, 42; escapes through the Austrian lines, 42; journey through France; 43; interview with Louis-Philippe, 43; arrives with her son in London, 44; returns to France, 45; journey through France, 47; to Arenenberg, 47; described by Chateaubriand and Alexandre Dumas at Arenenberg, 53–56; intercedes for Louis, 67; her ill health, 72; her farewell letter, 72; her death, 74; her maxims, 79; her last wishes, 80; her memoirs, 80
Howard, Miss, see Beauregard
Hugo, Victor, 146

Idées Napoléoniennes, 86, 154
Inkermann, battle of, see Crimean War
Irving, Washington, 71
Italy, revolution of 1830, 40; Austrian intervention and defeat of the revolutionaries, 41; the war of liberation, 175; Count Cavour's plans, 176; conference of Cavour and the Emperor at Plombières, 182; proposed cession of Savoy and Nice, 183; commencement of the war, 185; French victories, 185; the treaty of Zurich, 191; cession of Savoy and Nice, 193; establishment of the kingdom of, 203; alliance with Prussia, 247; obtains Venetia, 248; negotiations with France in 1870, 281

Joinville, Prince de, 93, 94, 134
Josephine (Empress), character of, 5–6; procures the marriage of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense, 7; her death and estate, 24; her appeal to the Emperor before the battle of Wagram, 55

La Fayette, M. de, 58
Lamoricière, General, 198, 201, 202
Le Bas, M., 33
Lebœuf, Marshal, 280
Legislative Assembly, composition of, 129
Lesseps, M. de, 101
Leu, Saint-, home of Queen Hortense, 12; church at, 25
Leuchtenberg, Duke of, see Beauharnais, Prince Eugène
Lindsay, Mr. W. L., 229
Louis-Philippe, King, his interviews with Queen Hortense, 42, 43; blunders of his government, 60,

83, 87; presents money to Prince Louis, 68; his relations with Switzerland, 81; demands the expulsion of Prince Louis from Switzerland, 81; imminence of war with Switzerland, 81; determines to convey the remains of Napoleon I to France, 93; his foreign policy, 116; fall of his dynasty, 118; permits King Jérôme to reside in France, 123; his letter to Charles X, 128
Louvre, completion of, 212
Luxembourg, question of, 251

MacMahon, Marshal, 280, 282, 284
Magenta, battle of, 185
Magnan, General (Marshal), 134
Malmaison, Château of, 21, 22, 24
Malmesbury, Earl of, 37, 104, 262, 294
Marie-Louise, Empress, 18, 51
Marrast, M., 124
Mars-la-Tour, battle of, 279
Masson, F., 7, 15
Mathilde, Princess, 151
Maupas, M. de (Prefect of Police), 134, 136
Maximilian, Emperor, 242
Mehemet Ali, 87, 117
Melbourne, Lord, 83
Menotti, General, 40
Mérimée, M. Prosper, 255
Mexico, French expedition to, 240
Mocquard, M., 80, 134, 135
Moltke, Count von, 169, 272, 283
Montholon, General, 96
Montebello, Duc de, 81
Morny, Duc de, his birth, 19; joins the councils of Prince Louis Napoleon, 133; character and antecedents, 133; appointed Minister of the Interior, 139; death of, 231
Murat, General (King of Naples), 7, 126
Napoleon I, Emperor, his treatment of Louis Bonaparte, 4; question of the Imperial succession, 11; makes Louis King of Holland, 13; proposes to make Louis King of Spain, 18; his joy at the birth of Prince Louis, 18; returns from Elba, 21; interview with Hortense, 21; on Josephine's death, 21; visits Malmaison for the last time, 21; on the "hope of his race," 22; his death, 35; Josephine's appeal to, 56; his return from Elba, 63, 64; his political institutions adopted by his nephew, 86, 154; the design of conveying his remains to France, 92; his remains brought to Paris, 93; interment of his remains in the Invalides, 94; his proposed monument to Charlemagne, 103; his tomb visited by Queen Victoria, 172
Napoleon II, see Reichstadt, Duc de
Napoleon, Prince Louis, his birth and early childhood, 16; baptism of, 18; with his uncle, 22; with his mother at Constance, 26; his childhood days at Arenenberg, 31; his early education, 33; his way of life at Arenenberg, 34; his military education, 37; sketch of, 38; his affection for his brother, 38; his sympathy with the Italian insurgents, 39; at Rome in 1830, 39; conducted to the frontier, 40; joins the Italian insurgents, 41; quits the revolutionary army, 41; severe illness of, 41; escapes from Ancona, 42; adventures by the way, 42; journey through France, 42; at Fontainebleau, 43; in Paris, 43; arrives in London, 44; journey through France with his mother, 45; at Arenenberg, 48; his horsemanship, 49; correspondence with his father, 50; belief in his destiny, 51; becomes head of the family, 51; becomes captain of artillery, 57; his interest in the affairs of France, 58; his political aspirations, 58; the Napoleonic legend, 59; preliminaries of the Strasbourg expedition, 62; chances of success, 63; sets out for Strasbourg, 65; his arrival and plan of operations, 65; his reception by the 4th Artillery,

65; made prisoner, 66; sent to the United States, 68; leaves Lorient, 68; furnished with money by the King, 68; his arrival in America, 69; at New York, 70; his stay in America, 71; receives intelligence of his mother's illness, 71; his visit to Washington Irving, 71; leaves America, 74; arrives in Europe, 74; refused passports, 74; reaches Arenenberg, 74; at his mother's bedside, 74; demand for his expulsion from Swiss territory, 81; residence at Gottlieben, 81; decision of the Swiss diet respecting demand for his expulsion from Switzerland, 82; hostile attitude of France and Switzerland, 82; leaves Arenenberg for England, 82; reasons for going to England, 83; note from French Government concerning, 83; his life in England, 84; publishes the "Idées Napoléoniennes," 86; decides on the attempt on Boulogne, 87; leaves London, 88; his landing at Boulogne and reception, 89; failure of the expedition, 90; taken prisoner with his companions in arms, 90; before the Chamber of Peers, 91; imprisoned at Ham, 91; disposition of his affairs, 92; his quarters in the fortress, 96; resumes his studies in prison, 97; his prison life, 97, 98; his correspondents, 98; retrospect of his literary work, 98; his intellectual activity, 99; proposed history of Charlemagne, 102; condition of his prison, 102; letter from Sismondi, 103; prison romance, 104; alleged treaty with the Duke of Brunswick, 105; refuses to sue for pardon, 107; escapes from Ham, 108; narrative of his escape, 109; relations with Miss Howard, 110; fails to obtain passports, 112; his house in King Street, 113; his money transactions, 114; reported poverty of, 114; departure from London, 119; arrival in Paris, 119; returns to England, 120; elected deputy, 120; final departure from England for France, 120; his election for five departments, 120; at the Hôtel du Rhin, 120; his first speech in the Assembly, 121; the only representative of the Napoleonic legend, 122; prospects of his election as President, 122; popularity of his candidature, 123; proclaimed President of the Republic, 124; takes the oath of fidelity, 124; majority for his election, 124; installed in the Elysée, 125; consents to restriction of universal suffrage, 130; breach with the Assembly, 130; hostility of the Assembly, 131; removal of General Changarnier, 131; resolves on the coup d'état, 131; his demeanor on the day of the coup d'état, 135; high spirits of, 135; reception at the Elysée, 135; the "Rubicon," 135; council of the coup d'état, 135; the next morning, 137; his triumphant progress through the streets of Paris, 137; on the night of the coup d'état, 138; new ministry, 139; insurrectionary movements against, 140; sudden appearance among the insurgents, 140; suppression of the insurrection, 140; at the Duchess of Hamilton's ball, 141; the coup d'état approved by vote of the nation, 141; urged to assume the Imperial dignity, 143; the plébiscite, 144; letter to M. Vieillard, 145; assumes the title of Napoleon III, 149; see Napoleon III, Boulogne, Strasbourg, etc.

Napoleon III (Emperor), proclamation of the Empire, 146; English hostility, 148; Lord Cowley's anecdote, 149; recognized by England, 149; and by other Powers, 150; approaching marriage of, 151; matrimonial ventures, 151; announcement of his engagement to Eugénie de Montijo, 152; her origin, 152; his Court, 153; simple habits, 153; his work during the first year of the

Empire, 155; the English alliance, 159; the Crimean War, 160; the Treaty of Paris, 163; visit of himself and the Empress to Queen Victoria, 164; reception in London and at Windsor, 165; invested with the Garter, 165; birth of an heir, 167; the Exhibition of 1855, 170; receives Queen Victoria at Boulogne, 170; conducts her to the tomb of Napoleon, 172; conversation on the Orleans family, 173; impressions of the Queen, 173; Congress of Paris, 177; Madame de Castiglione, 178; Orsini's attempt on, 180; compact with Count Cavour, 182; his Italian projects, 183; treaty with Sardinia, 184; the Austrian ultimatum, 184; his victories in Italy, 185; proposes an armistice, 186; reasons for his action, 186; peace of Villafranca, 186; relations with the Vatican, 189; Thouvenel, Foreign Minister, 191; on the annexation of Savoy and Nice, 196; first meeting with Pius Ninth, 197; visits to Corsica and Algeria, 199, 211; grand reviews of 1855 and 1859, 206; meeting with German sovereigns, 209; reconstruction of Paris, 212; his private life at the Tuileries, 215; rooms in the Tuileries, 216; exposition of 1867, 218; constitutional reforms, 222; loss of prestige, 223; commercial treaty with England, 224; opposition of the Church, 226; accords free speech to Legislative Bodies, 228; change in navigation laws, 229; visit to M. de Morny's death-bed, 231; confides government to Ollivier, 232; rise of the Third Party, 232; plébiscite of 1870, 233; the Syrian expedition, 235; Chinese war, 237; Mexican expedition, 240; interviews with Count Bismarck, 246; duped by the German statesman, 247; attitude on the Schleswig-Holstein question, 251; Mexican expedition and the American Civil War, 251; defied by Count Bismarck, 252; his love affairs, 253; effect on the State, 255; growing influence of the Empress, 255; proposed increase of the army, 258; illness of, 260, 277; "crowning the edifice," 261; perplexity of his position, 261; the Hohenzollern candidature, 263; precipitancy of his ministers, 264; the Ems dispatch, 266; war determined on, 270; on his reverses in the war, 271; the condition of his army, 272; disposition of his forces, 275; transfers command to Marshal Bazaine, 276; joined by General Changarnier at Metz, 276; returns to Châlons, 280; pernicious influence of the Empress, 281; negotiations with Italy, 281; follows the army, 285; at Sedan, 285; hoists the flag of truce, 286; letter to King of Prussia, 286; meeting with Bismarck and the King, 288; conducted to Wilhelmshöhe, 290; life at Wilhelmshöhe, 291; reception in England, 293; at Chislehurst, 294; his last illness and death, 296; his obsequies, 297; his remains and those of his son, 305; his mission, 313; his heredity, 314; his youth and education, 314; his mother's influence, 315; his personal attractiveness, 315; his excellence in sports, 316; his powers as a linguist, 317; his efforts to improve France, 317–318; his personality, 319; his entourage, 320; his dignity, 321; his affability, 322; his tenacity, 322; his lack of decision, 322; his love of startling effects, 323; his impassibility, 324; his personal appearance, 324; his place in history, 325

Napoleon, Eugène Louis (Prince Imperial), his birth, 167; at review of 1859, 207; at Saarbruck, 298; brought to England after Sedan, 299; at his father's death-bed, 300; graduates at Woolwich, 300; vol-

unteers for service in South Africa, 301; killed by Zulus, 302
Napoleon Charles (Prince Royal of Holand), see Bonaparte
Napoleon Louis (second son of Hortense), see Bonaparte
Napoleon, Prince (cousin of Napoleon III), see Bonaparte
Navigation laws, French, repeal of, 229
Nicaragua, proposed canal of, 101, 241
Nicholas, Czar, 149, 160, 163
Niel, Marshal, 259
Nigra, Chevalier, 195
North German Confederation, 249

Ollivier, M. Emile, 133, 232, 258
Orsini, Félice, 180
Orsi, Joseph, 87, 88, 105

Palikao, Count, 237, 238
Palmerston, Lord, 235
Paris, the grand avenues of, 75; during the coup d'état, 139; "massacre of the boulevards," 140; during Congress of 1856, 164; the Universal Exhibition of 1855, 170; reconstruction of, 212; review of the troops returned from the Italian campaign, 206; during the Exhibition of 1867, 218
Patterson-Bonapartes, 304
Persigny, M. de, career and character of, 60; his activity in the cause of Prince Louis, 61; takes part in the Boulogne expedition, 89; at the coup d'état, 135
Pianori, attempt on the life of Napoleon, 180
Pius IX, Pope, 189, 197
Plébiscite for the Second Empire, 144; on the Constitution of May, 1870, 233
Plombières, compact of, 182
Prince Imperial, see Napoleon, Prince Eugène Louis
Provisional Government of 1848, 118
Prussia, reorganization of her army, 243; jealousy of Austria, 246; negotiations with France, 246; preparing for war with Austria, 247; alliance with Italy, 247; war with Austria, 247; victories of, 247; admitted to the Paris Congress, 250; conduct of during Italian war, 251; the Emperor's sympathy with, 259

Récamier, Mme., 54
Reichstadt, Duc de, 50, 51
Reviews of 1855 and 1859, 206, 207
Revolution of 1848, 118
Rome, King of. See Reichstadt, Duc de (Napoleon II)
Rouher, M., 140
Rueil, tombs of the Empress Josephine and Queen Hortense in the church of, 25, 47
Russell, Lord John, 204
Russia. See Nicholas, Alexander II, Crimean War

Saint-Arnaud, General (Marshal), 132, 140
Saint-Cloud, Queen Victoria at, 171
Saint Helena, 35, 93
Saint-Leu, Duchess of. See Hortense, Queen, Leu, Saint-
Saint-Pol, Count de, and the fortress of Ham, 95
Sardinia, joins the Anglo-French alliance, 161, 176; alliance with France, 184; the question of disarmament, 184; invaded by Austria, 185; campaign in Lombardy, 185; annexes Tuscany and Modena, 187. See Italy
Savoy and Nice, cession of, 193, 196
Schleswig-Holstein question. See Denmark
Schwarzenberg, Prince, 25
Scott, General, 70
Sebastopol. See Crimean War
Sedan, capitulation of, 286
Sismondi, M., letter to Prince Louis Napoleon, 103
Solferino, battle of. See Italy
Sophie, Queen of Holland, letters to Napoleon III, 258
Soult, Marshal, 22, 125

Spain, the Hohenzollern candidature for the throne of, 262
Steinmetz, General, 275
Stéphanie, Grand Duchess, 28, 208
Strasbourg, Prince Louis Napoleon's expedition against, 65, 68

Talisman of Charlemagne, 84
Talleyrand, M. de, 19, 44
Thélin, C., 71, 216
Thiers, M., 116, 144, 227, 229, 258, 293
Thouvenel, M., 191, 194, 199, 200
Thun, Prince Louis Napoleon at the camp of, 37
Trochu, General, 280
Tuileries, 215, 310–312
Turgot, Marquis de, 139

United States, Prince Louis Napoleon's visit to, 69–74

Vaudrey, Colonel (one of the Strasbourg conspirators), 62, 65, 66
Vendôme Column, the, 43, 103
Venetia, ceded to Italy, 248
Verhuel calumny, 14–15
Véron, Dr., 133
Victor Emmanuel, 176, 203, 205, 219
Victoria, Queen, visit of the Emperor and Empress to, 164; invests the Emperor with the Garter, 165; return visit to the Emperor, 170; her description of Paris, 171; enthusiasm of her reception, 171; state ball at Versailles, 172; conversations with the Emperor, 173; return to England and reflections on the visit, 173; on the Emperor's private rooms in the Tuileries, 216; her suspicions of the Emperor, 234
Vieillard, M., 37, 98, 114, 145
Villafranca, peace of, 186
Voirol, General (commandant of Strasbourg), 62

Walewski, Comte, 190
Warsaw interview, 203
Webb, General J. W., 70; his account of Prince Napoleon in America, 71; negotiates withdrawal of French troops from Mexico, 242
Wellington, Duke of, 85
Wilhelmshöhe, prison of Napoleon III, 290; his life at, 291
William, Prince Regent (King) of Prussia, visit to Saint-Leu, 23; meeting with the French Emperor, 210; at Paris during the Exhibition of 1867, 219; announces the reorganization of the army, 244; interviews with M. Benedetti, 264; refuses guarantees demanded by France, 265; his last words to Benedetti, 266; meeting with the French Emperor at Sedan, 290
Wimpffen, General, 284; in capacity of, 285; summons a council of war, 288; capitulates, 288
Windsor, the Emperor and Empress of the French at, 165

Zurich, treaty of, 191

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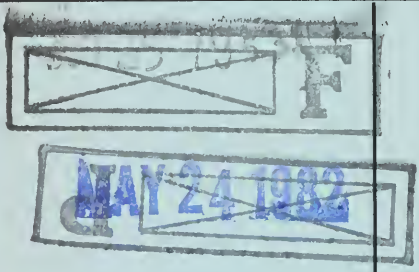

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